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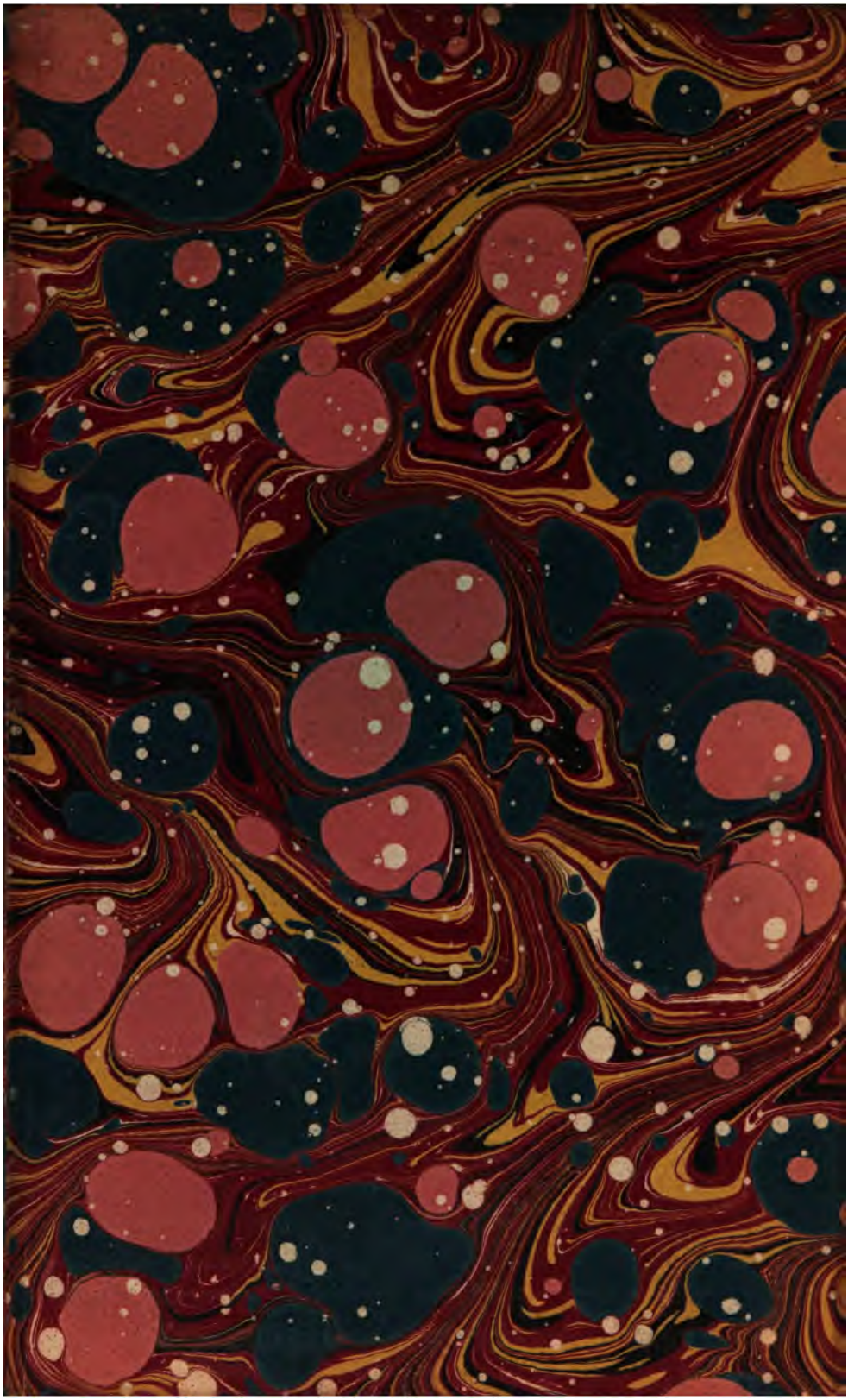

THE

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

HENRY SALT, ESQ. F.R.S. &c.

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HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S LATE

CONSUL GENERAL IN EGYPT.

BY J. J. HALLS, Esq.

SECOND EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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cation, and through other channels, at length induced him to draw up, for the information of his friends in England, an account of the real circumstances of the case. He was unwilling at that period that it should be submitted to the public, from the wish of not injuring Belzoni, and was merely desirous that it should be shown to those among his friends whose good opinion he most valued; whether this request were complied with, in the generality of instances, I have no means of ascertaining—I only know that* I never even heard of the existence of such a statement till about a twelvemonth back, when it was placed with other papers in my hand, by a common friend, to publish it or not to publish it, as I might judge most expedient. Had the matter been kept strictly private, I certainly should have adopted the latter alternative; but as Mr. Belzoni, in his work, has thought proper to lay before the public very unfounded assertions respecting the transaction, all delicacy on the subject appears to be at an end, and common justice requires that the memory of Mr. Salt should no longer suffer from the suppression of a document which gives a totally different colour to the transaction, and

* This probably arose from accident, or mere forgetfulness

places his good feelings in a most favourable point of view. On the score of imprudence, however, (in first giving his confidence to a foreign adventurer, and secondly in the great sacrifices he made to appease his capricious selfishness and overweening vanity,) Mr. Salt, it must be conceded, cannot be so readily acquitted. The following is his statement of the case.

"A PLAIN STATEMENT OF FACTS.

"Mr. Belzoni having failed in the water machine made for the Pasha, owing to the intrigues of his enemies, was reduced to some distress, when being strongly recommended to me by Sheik Ibrahim (Mr. Burkhardt), and his manners being remarkably engaging, I determined, in conjunction with Sheik Ibrahim, to employ him in bringing down the large head, and at the same time I furnished him with some thousand piastres to excavate and buy antiquities on my account. The instructions we gave him about the head, which he has published, and which, he says, are 'written in an *assuming* style,' were also signed by Mr. Burkhardt, my associate in the undertaking, as the original now in my possession testifies, and the firmaun from the Pasha, for liberty of excavation, &c. expressly states Mr. Belzoni to be

a person employed by me; without which he would not have been permitted to have carried on such an undertaking. Mr. Belzoni, in his work, says, 'Being a native of that part of Italy which had lately come under the Austrian dominions, I might have applied to the Austrian Consul to obtain a firmaun from the Pasha; but, as I enjoyed British protection, I applied to the British Consul:' now these few lines contain a fair specimen of the candour to be met with throughout his work.

"In the first place, Mr. Belzoni knows that he studiously avoided letting it be known in Egypt that he was from the new Austrian dominions, and that he invariably represented himself to be a 'Roman.' The memorandum in the consular office, left by my predecessor, Colonel Misset, is as follows, 'Mr. Belzoni came to Egypt with a British passport, and, having no natural protector (being a subject of the Pope), was in consequence admitted to the privileges of a British protegé.'

"Secondly, he knows that had he been under his legitimate protection, the Austrian Consul would not have procured him a firmaun to excavate, but merely a common passport to visit the antiquities, &c. from the Pasha, as firmauns to excavate were extremely difficult to procure, and

then given only to Consuls, the idea being altogether new, and having excited, as Mr. Belzoni's work shows, considerable jealousy among the Turks. And, thirdly, he knows that he did not, through me, obtain any firmaun to work on his own account, nor did he think of even asking for it, as he knows it would have been refused. Mr. Belzoni says in his work, 'It has been erroneously stated that I was * regularly employed by Mr. Salt, &c. I positively deny that I was ever engaged by him in any shape whatever.'

"The following extracts from his own letters will at least prove that he considered himself as commissioned by me and as acting under my orders—and, as he confesses that all expenses were paid by me, this appears to me to amount to nearly the same conclusion.

* The Reviewer of his work, in the 'Journal des Savans,' observes, "Nous ne discuterons pas non plus avec lui une question à laquelle il semble attacher une grande importance, c'est de savoir s'il était employé régulièrement par Mr. Salt, c'est-à-dire, s'il était à sa solde, ou s'il faisait des recherches pour son propre plaisir, mais avec l'argent du Consul Anglais et au profit du Musée Britannique; distinction fort delicate, qui rappelle un peu l'immense différence que Corneille, dans le Bourgeois, établit entre un marchand de drap, et un homme qui donne du drap à ses connaissances pour de l'argent." I, too, should be disposed not to contest the point, did I not think it a duty to my friends to let them know the true state of the facts.—H. SALT.

(*Extract.*)

'August 14th, 1816.

'You must be informed also, that the Cacheef of Erneut has taken a fancy to the very fine pair of pistols I have on board (these belonged to me, H. Salt), and he made me understand that it was what he wished for. I told him that I was only in *commission*, and that I could not give what was not my own.'

"In another letter, dated the 6th of October 1816, he says, 'The Temple of Abusimbal is nearly opened, and ready for you when you please to take your journey to that country.' And again October 10th, 'It is understood with the Cacheef that I shall go up to finish the work (the opening of Abusimbal Temple); if I do not, it will be done for somebody else. *If it meets your approbation that I should go through with it*, I must request you, sir, to have the goodness to send me two thousand piastres by the courier.'

"Afterwards, this operation was put off to the next year, and Mr. Belzoni came down with the great head to Cairo, when the different destination of the several objects he had brought down must have been clearly understood by him (though I was not myself on the spot), as will appear by the following extract of a letter from Mr. Burkhardt addressed to me, then at Alexandria.

'18th of Dec. 1816, Cairo.

'Mr. Belzoni has succeeded beyond the most sanguine hopes you could entertain, and certainly done his utmost to execute his commission in full. He has brought, besides the head, seven statues, which will be a most *valuable ornament to your future gallery.* One of them is what he calls "the young man," a sitting figure, I rather believe a portrait, with the ram's-head on his knees. The others resemble those two statues Mr. Bankes carried off, and of which the French have given a drawing. Belzoni dug them out at Karnak all upon one spot, and says that sixteen others, exact copies, were transported by him to the beach, where they were left for your orders.'

"On my return to Cairo we came to a settlement, and I must attest that it was with great reluctance that we could get Mr. Belzoni to accept anything for what he had so zealously performed; at length, at my repeated solicitations (which he chooses to forget), and from my stating that if he did not take anything, it would render it impossible for me to give him another commission as I proposed, he consented to receive what we had offered him, about four thousand piastres: of this, two thousand were put down to the

account of the head, of which I paid half, and the rest was paid exclusively by me. I draw these particulars from accounts in my possession, signed by Mr. Belzoni, so that he does not act quite fairly in stating that what was given ' was obtained as if reluctantly from me by Mr. Burkhardt.'

" Besides this, I conceded to him two of the best of those statues left above, which he afterwards disposed of to the Count de Forbin for, I believe, seven thousand piastres (then one hundred and seventy five pounds), which was not, after all, making so bad a voyage of it, he having been employed only from June to January. Confiding in the apparent respectability of his character, and from my experience of his talents, I engaged him in 1817 to undertake a second voyage, to be carried on at my exclusive expense, without entering into any direct stipulations as to his remuneration, conceiving he had been satisfied with our first settlement, and not suspecting we should ever have any difference on the subject. It was determined also that Mr. Beechey, my Secretary, should accompany him, chiefly for the purpose of affording that gentleman an opportunity of studying and making designs of the fine monuments existing at Thebes.

They were accordingly furnished with a still stronger firmaun, by the Pasha, *as being in my employ;* and at the latter end of February 1817, they departed, equipped with every thing that could tend to their convenience or comfort during their expedition.

" Mr. Belzoni now continued actively engaged in my service until the month of October, every possible expense incurred, both as far as respected their researches as well as their personal accommodation, being paid by me, as Mr. Beechey, through whom the money passed, can testify.* The brilliant success which Mr. Belzoni met with, as well as the difficulties he had to encounter, are pretty faithfully narrated in his work; I shall not, therefore, enter into any detail on this head, but shall merely refer to a passage (page 197) where, speaking of the unpleasant affair with the Deftardar Bey, he says, ' We had written to Cairo informing Mr. Salt, the Consul, of all that had passed with the Bey, but indeed, unless a person is present at such occurrences, he can *feel no interest* in them, nor understand

* Mr. Beechey personally informed me some years ago that this was the fact. He added, that Belzoni was of so suspicious and dissatisfied a disposition, that it was in some respects difficult to keep on any terms with him.—E.

the disgust they excite.' How far this is correct, will appear by the following extract of my answer to the letters above alluded to, addressed to Mr. Beechey, to whom it was my practice to write more fully as in answer to both, and which extract will also clearly show that there was no pretence set up on my part, as Mr. Belzoni would lead his readers to suppose, of their being employed by Government, or for the British Museum, as there could not, after this letter, I should think, be any misunderstanding on the subject.

'May 12th, 1817.

'I received your letters by the courier the day before yesterday, he having been only ten days on his journey, and this morning, being the first opportunity that presented itself, I went to the Pasha. I had another affair about Government, which I first settled. I afterwards begged a private conference, and informed him, in full, of the very unjustifiable conduct of the Deftardar Bey towards Mr. Belzoni, and of his having, in his sight, bastinadoed the Sheik; and required from him immediate satisfaction, or, that otherwise, I should directly send for you back, and take care how I again trusted any person attached to me, to go within the dis-

tricts under his the Deftardar's rule. The Pasha appeared much vexed and hurt at what had passed, and declared that he would write such a letter as should prevent any such treatment in future. A courier express from himself is to be sent with this letter, and I trust it will produce the desired effect. I feel most particularly for the unpleasantness of your situation, but it is a circumstance which no foresight could prevent, and that nothing but the most consummate prudence could have brought to its present termination; for when a barbarian is once enraged, no prospect of future consequences can arrest his intent, nor abate his passion.

'I wish you, however, clearly to understand, that I do not agree with you in considering this to be a national insult, or as having anything to do with my Consular character. You must be aware that neither yourself, nor Mr. Belzoni, are at present engaged in any official employ; you are simply in the same situation as two travellers forming a collection, and are therefore only entitled to such reparation as any English gentleman would have a right to expect. It is absolutely necessary that this should be explicitly understood, for as you know I have no

authority from Government for employing any person in such pursuits, and that I am bearing the whole expense and collecting for myself, you can only be considered as acting in a private capacity. The insult to Mr. Belzoni was of a nature not to be overlooked, and I trust the prompt satisfaction accorded by the Pasha may have the best effect, in convincing the Deftardar Bey that no man under British protection can be insulted with impunity. I would rather give up all idea of collecting than be embroiled in continual quarrels on that account. The beating of the Sheik, though undoubtedly very revolting, it was better to treat publicly, as Mr. Belzoni did, as having no reference to us, since the Deftardar Bey thought it necessary to assign another cause for the act; for in all cases where you have to deal with such people, it is a necessary act of policy never to take to yourself an insult for which the party concerned deems it prudent to assign another cause.*

'The affair of Yanni (one of my servants who had been ill-treated by the Arabs) is chiefly to

* I do not know that I have ever met with a shrewder, or more sensible observation than the one contained in these few last lines, and, as far as my experience goes, it is entirely new.—E.

be attributed to your want of a Janisary to deliver you from this unpleasant predicament; I have therefore engaged the Albanian, who was with Mr. Bankes, in my service, and have sent him up to join you, and I would wish you, in consequence, to stay at Thebes until his arrival. I send you a small stock of medicines, some of the knives bought at Alexandria, some rice, tobacco, dried apricots, and wine. I have made arrangements with Cochini that you may have what money may be necessary. Say everything kind on my part to Mr. Belzoni, and repeat my delight at the discovery of the head, vases, and papyri. 'Believe me, &c.

(Signed) H. SALT.'

"That this letter was received, and communicated to Mr. Belzoni, will appear from the following extract from Mr. Beechey's reply to it.

'June 12th, Philoe, 1817.

'Here we received the return of the courier we despatched to you from Luxor. The contents of your letter were not a little pleasing to us, as they convinced us that you did not attribute to any misconduct on our part, the occurrence of the late disgraceful acts of partiality

and injustice. You have misunderstood a part of my letter from Luxor, and say in answer, 'I wish you clearly to understand that I do not agree with you in considering this to be a national insult, &c.' (quoting my former letter): 'of this we are perfectly aware, and I have all along made a point of acting with these impressions.'

"Every new courier, after this, brought me an account of some valuable discovery; and when I left Cairo for Thebes, I could not but feel the most anxious desire to do all in my power to remunerate Mr. Belzoni, and to promote his future prospects. I arrived with Lord Belmore's family at Thebes in November 1817, where, after spending several days in admiration of the new discoveries, they left me and proceeded on to Nubia. It was a few days after Lord Belmore's departure, if I recollect rightly, that Mr. Belzoni began to address me in rather an ambiguous style on the subject of payment, saying that 'It was time to think of his own interests; he had worked long enough for others, and desired to know how I intended to remunerate him.' I answered, that it had always been my intention, as I had mentioned to Mr. Burkhardt, to allow him, even if he had found nothing, from three to five hundred piastres a month, according to

circumstances, as a salary independent of all expenses or other considerations; but, I added, your exertions have been so great and your success so far beyond my expectations, that the subject requires farther consideration, and therefore I must wave an immediate reply. I pointed out at the same time that, for the moment, I had it not in my power to do so much as I could wish, my expenses having been great, and nothing yet secured (I alluded to all the articles being then at Thebes) to repay me for what I had advanced.

"On the same day, to satisfy his mind, which appeared to me uneasy, I told him that, in consideration of the great services he had rendered me, I had determined to allow him a thousand* piastres (then upwards of twenty-five pounds) per month, from the time of his quitting Alexandria, up to the completion of what he had so well begun; that I would besides cede to him any articles I might be able to spare which might prove advantageous to him (of which he then pointed out several); and that he might be assured I would give him other satisfactory proofs of my

* The Pasha's physicians at this time had five hundred piastres a month, without any other allowance, and this to Mr. Belzoni was distinct of all expenses.—H. S.

regard. With this he expressed himself satisfied, and the subject was for some days dropped.

" The first time it was again renewed (about four or five days after, if I am not mistaken) was in the presence of several English travellers then passing through Thebes, and, I believe, Mr. Beechey; when, upon some remark made by me about the time in which Mr. Belzoni had been in my employ, he suddenly broke out in the most violent terms and declared, to my great astonishment, that 'he had never been employed by me, that he had been working for the British Nation, (being the first time he had ever started such a notion,) and that he would be satisfied to go without reward; that he was an independent man,' &c. To this I answered with moderation, explaining to the gentlemen present the total inconsistency of such assertions, and stating to them what I had arranged for his remuneration, and which, I thought, was acting liberally towards him; to which, I recollect, the whole party agreed and declared that no urgency on his part ought to compel me to pledge myself to more, as any farther remuneration I might be inclined to make must be left to contingent circumstances.

" From this time the conduct of Mr. Belzoni

became strangely changed: repeated and very unpleasant altercations took place, in which he unfolded pretensions to which I informed him I could never accede, while throughout he exhibited an unfounded jealousy of my assuming all the merit of these discoveries, in spite of my repeated assurances that no person could estimate his exertions higher, or be more disposed to render him more ample justice, as all my letters to England would attest; while I added, that I looked upon myself, with regard to him, in no other light than as a gentleman might consider himself relatively to an architect whom he had employed to build a house, having given the commission and supplied the means, whilst he, as the architect of the building, had all the merit of the actual discoveries.

" At last, on his leaving Thebes to take down some of the antiquities to Cairo, it was finally agreed that for the present, until he could consult his friends, all discussion respecting the past should be suspended; that he should go down to Cairo, disembark the articles on board my boat, and return to Thebes with the necessary apparatus to remove for me the alabaster sarcophagus. I gave him the necessary orders to meet the expenses, and mentioned that I would allow him

a thousand piastres a month for the future; to which he objected, but, on my insisting, at last said, 'You may give me what you please, but this must be a distinct matter.' At Cairo he continued longer than I could have expected, and at last the boat returned without him, and by a letter he informed me that 'he would set off in a few days, being detained by a little private business.' What that business was he did not explain, and it was from other persons that I was informed of his discoveries at the Pyramids.

"At length, finding that Mr. Belzoni's stay was procrastinated beyond all reasonable time, I determined to go down myself. I found Mr. Belzoni residing in my house; but his conduct still continued as before, demonstrating very unreasonable jealousy lest I should take to myself all the merits of his discoveries, and showing his adherence to certain vague pretensions founded on an exaggerated idea of the value of the articles he had found for me, which in one of his letters to me he estimates at 'twenty thousand pounds.'*

* I do not know what effect this estimate might have had on Mr. Salt's *own* notion of the value of his collection, but, if it amounted to a quarter of the sum, he was shortly, as will afterwards appear, to be somewhat cruelly undeceived when he offered it to the British Museum.—E.

" As I felt, however, that his noble discovery of the pyramid of Cephrenes gave him additional claims on my regard, I continued the same quiet line of remonstrance and forbearance, doing justice to his merits, and succeeded at last, as I thought, in some measure, in calming his perturbed spirit. This led, after a full explanation, (in which I proved to him that he never had the slightest foundation for supposing the antiquities he had collected to belong to the British Museum, the whole expense having been borne by me,) to an amicable and final settlement, in which I engaged to give him five hundred pounds, several articles of value, and allowed him an ultimate share in the sarcophagus, should the Museum pay me for it more than two thousand pounds, &c. I also consented to let the agreement run in the form of 'under my auspices and at my expense,' instead of 'while in my employ,' which Mr. Belzoni seemed to think of infinite importance. A copy of the agreement is annexed, marked (A).

" Thus, all our differences, as I thought, being happily adjusted, Mr. Belzoni departed, to fulfil his part of the contract, to Thebes; after shaking me heartily by the hand at parting, with the expression, 'I hope we shall continue the best friends.' On this occasion I wrote to Mr.

Beechey, who was still at Thebes, and directed him to favour Mr. Belzoni in collecting, and otherwise to render him every assistance in his power. He afterwards complained, in one of his letters to me, that he experienced some difficulty in not being permitted to dig in places that I had myself marked; on which I again desired Mr. Beechey to let him have any of these he might desire, except the spot behind the two colossi, where I had begun myself to excavate; and also desired him not to buy anything, except statues, that he might leave the whole open to Mr. Belzoni; and this the latter acknowledged in the following terms:—'July. I am extremely obliged to you for the good intentions in ordering Mr. Beechey not to buy any more antiques except statues.' And again: 'The places you mention that Mr. Beechey is to give over to me, I feel myself under obligation for, and do all in my power to show it: though it will be mere chance whether I find anything or no, yet your good intention will be considered equal to the best success.' And in the same letter he speaks of his 'great esteem and respect for me.' He afterwards continued to complain of his want of success; but it appears that his complaints were not solely applicable to himself.

"On the 18th of June he wrote to me as follows:—'The works are going on, but discovery becomes very scarce to all parties.' And Mr. Beechey, some time after, wrote, 'Nothing has been since discovered but two colossal heads, very much mutilated, near the place where your's was dug out, behind the colossi at Gournou. Nothing has lately been found, either, at Karnak by any one.' The fact is, nothing of any consequence was found by my agents this year, except the nine-feet colossal statue discovered in my excavations behind the two colossi of the plain. Mr. Belzoni's account of this discovery affords an instance of more than his usual want of candour. It must be remembered that, in our last agreement, I had stipulated that 'Mr. Belzoni should give my agent such assistance as might appear to him advisable.' Now, as I have before mentioned, I had expressly reserved to myself the spot behind the two colossi, and, under date June 4th, Mr. Belzoni thus wrote to me:—'I have just observed the ground you have dug behind the two colossi, and, as the work is nearly half done, I think it will be advantageous to proceed to the end of it, and take out what is worthy of removing, otherwise the Nile will soon come and cover the whole of it: I hope you will approve of this

proceeding, as it is done without direction, and as I have no business to interfere with your affairs.' For which I thus thanked him: 'June 25th, Cairo.—I am sincerely obliged to you for the judicious advice you gave to Mr. Beechey as to following up my excavations behind the colossal figures; I myself recommended to him at parting (which he had probably forgotten) to keep a few men always digging there.'

"Some time after, Mr. Belzoni happened to be directing the operations of my men, according to his engagements, when the statue was discovered, and he then used the expression, as a person then present can attest, 'See how lucky I am excavating for others, and how unlucky when for myself!' How different from this is the account given in his book! And that his advice upon this occasion was not given gratis, I may mention that, during the whole of this year, while engaged in the drawings and models of the tomb, (in which he received every assistance and encouragement we could afford him,) both he and his artist, Mr. Ricci, lived entirely at my expense, a table for all being kept at my desire by Mr. Beechey, and put down to my charge, to which I was by no means obliged by our contract. One word also on the expedition to Berenice: all I know of it is, that

it cost me several thousand piastres, being undertaken, as Mr. Beechey assured me before Mr. Belzoni's face, *on my account*—Mr. Belzoni paid only for his own camel.

" At the end of this year, 1818, I went up to Thebes with Mr. Bankes, and though Mr. Belzoni still evinced symptoms of discontent, it was resolved, before we parted, that he should go on excavating for me on a new agreement, that I should supply him with money and pay his expenses, while he was to have for his trouble one-third, if I remember rightly, of whatever should be found. Upon this engagement Mr. Belzoni spent about fifteen hundred piastres, which I supplied him with, without finding, as he reported to me, a single article,—and yet this, he says, was the best bargain he ever made with me,—when the shameful attack was made upon him by Messrs. Lebolo and Rosignani, at Carnak, which led him to quit the place, and for which he well knows I did all in my power to procure him redress.

" From this time I saw no more of Mr. Belzoni until our day of settlement, the 12th of May 1819, when he came to my house at night to Cairo, as we were then in quarantine. After settling all our accounts, we found a balance was

due to him, after what he had drawn in advance, of 169*l.*, which I made up 200*l.*, and gave him a draft for it, negotiable in Egypt, on Messrs. Drummonds. On the day following I went over my collection with him, and gave him all the articles I could spare, which he gratefully accepted, and—as Mr. Fuller,* a gentleman present, who is now probably in London, can declare—seemed quite a satisfied man, and expressed a hope in parting that we should continue friends, and promised occasionally to give me information of his proceedings; but it seems that the Alexandrian air brought on his fever again, for there he once more began to talk of my taking all the merit to myself of his discoveries, &c., and on my going down to Alexandria broke out, why or wherefore I know not, into an open rupture.

"I still, however, did all I could to serve him, and, as the last act of friendship, paid for him all the expenses of his lawsuit about the Carnak business in Alexandria. Of what, then, has he to complain? He was engaged by me for ten months in an arduous but certainly not a dangerous undertaking, for which he received five hun-

* This gentleman belongs to the Literary Fund Club, and is known to my agent, Mr. Bingham Richards, 4, Old Jewry. —H. S.

dred pounds, and obtained other advantages worth as much more; he was treated by me with as uniform kindness as my own secretary, and received, after he left my employ, every possible assistance in his pursuits. I have uniformly done justice to his talents and to his discoveries, and, as my friends in England well know, have purposely abstained from publication, with a view to leave him that advantage. In fine, I found him in difficulty and almost in despair, and afforded him the means of distinguishing himself; through me, his situation in life was entirely changed, and he has become, on account of his discoveries, the object of public admiration. His book will speak his gratitude.

" With respect to that part of my collection made by Mr. Belzoni (which, highly as I value it, I cannot either estimate 'at twenty thousand pounds,' or as superior to that of M. Drovetti, which he has disposed of for upwards of that sum), I can only state that it is now in the British Museum, but that he, Mr. Belzoni, 'succeeded in putting it there,' as he is modestly pleased to say, 'though not in the same manner which he thought they were to be entered into that place at first,' is certainly incorrect, as he had no more to do with the disposition of my col-

lection than, to use one of his own phrases, 'the Governor of Siberia,' as I think this statement will pretty clearly prove.*

"HENRY SALT.

"Alexandria, October 10th, 1821."

* Since writing the foregoing account, I have received a communication from Mr. Beechey (in reply to some information I had requested), which has afforded a clue to Belzoni's singular conduct, of which I had previously entertained not the smallest suspicion. If Mr. Belzoni appeared, at times, to act under a species of delusion, he must certainly be in a great measure exonerated, as *a man*, from the charge of wilful misrepresentation, though, as *an author*, it by no means does away with the necessity of exposing and refuting his ill-founded assertions, where the character of another is nearly concerned. The following are extracts from Mr. Beechey's letter, and as they are written with feeling and impartiality, it would be unfair to withhold them from the reader.

"Harley Street, August 5th, 1833.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am glad to hear that you have undertaken to write the Life of our excellent friend Salt—a better man never breathed. * * * Belzoni (poor fellow! he had many good points about him,) was often in the habit of using very violent language, and *frequently* declared that he was not employed by Mr. Salt, though it would have puzzled him very much to prove the assertion. * * * There never was a man better treated, *in every respect*, by another than Belzoni was by our poor friend, though he never would allow it, and I verily believe that he persuaded himself it was otherwise. In fact he was, on some points, more than half mad, and

" Memorandum—The original documents from which the extracts are made, are all in my possession. " H. SALT."

The following is the agreement alluded to in the statement of Mr. Salt.

" Copy (A.)

" Cairo, April 20th, 1818.

" Whereas it appears that some erroneous ideas had been entertained by Sig. Giovanni Baptista Belzoni, with respect to the objects collected under the auspices and at the expense of Henry Salt, Esq. in Upper Egypt, as being intended for the British Museum; and whereas it has since been satisfactorily explained to Sig. Belzoni that such ideas were altogether founded on a mistake, it has been agreed and determined, between the above parties in a friendly manner, to terminate, and they do hereby terminate, all

this was decidedly one of them. Captains Mangles and Irby could furnish you, I believe, with a good many anecdotes in confirmation of this. They knew Belzoni thoroughly, and would amuse you very much with his oddities." * * *

" J. J. Halls, Esq. " H. BEECHEY."

It will be necessary for me, in the sequel, to make frequent mention of Mr. Belzoni, but, after having seen the above extracts, I shall avoid dwelling, as much as circumstances will permit, on the unfortunate frailties of his character.

differences between them by the present agreement.

"In consequence of the zeal displayed in his researches and the many valuable discoveries made by Sig. Belzoni in Upper Egypt, under the auspices of Henry Salt, Esq. and at his expense, it is agreed by the said Henry Salt, Esq. on his part, to pay to Sig. Belzoni (all actual expenses being settled) the sum of five hundred pounds, British money, within the space of one year from the present date.

"And, farther, that he, the said Henry Salt, Esq. shall make over to the said Sig. Belzoni (in addition to the two he has already disposed of), one of those statues, with a lion's head, now standing in the Consulate court-yard.

"And, farther, that he shall concede to the said Sig. Belzoni, the cover of a sarcophagus, found by him in one of the tombs of the Kings of Thebes, with such other objects as he may be able to spare.—

"Farther, that he the said Henry Salt, Esq. stipulates, that, whenever the sarcophagus, lying in the King's tomb, discovered by Sig. Belzoni, shall be disposed of, the said Sig. Belzoni shall be considered as entitled to one half of the surplus of whatever price may be paid for the

said sarcophagus exceeding the sum of two thousand pounds sterling. It being understood between the said parties, that the said Henry Salt, Esq. shall offer the said sarcophagus to the British Museum, at a fair valuation, within the space of three years from the present date. —And farther, the said Henry Salt, Esq. promises to give his assistance to the said Sig. Belzoni, in making a collection on his own account, during the present season, at Thebes.

" On the part of Sig. Belzoni, he the said Sig. Belzoni hereby agrees to the above said arrangements, and farther, on his part, engages to go to Thebes, and to do all in his power to bring down, for the said Henry Salt, Esq. at the expense of the latter, the two sarcophagi now remaining under Mr. Beechey's charge at Thebes, and to give such other assistance to Henry Salt, Esq's. agent there, as may appear to him, Sig. Belzoni, advisable; and, farther, it is agreed by the respective parties above mentioned, Henry Salt, Esq. and Sig. Belzoni, that this friendly agreement shall be considered, to all intents and purposes, binding on both parties, and also as a final settlement between the said parties.

' In confirmation thereof, the parties above-men-

tioned have mutually interchanged copies of this agreement, written respectively with their own hands, to both which copies they have, in all due form, jointly affixed their signature and seal this twentieth day of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and eighteen, in the Consulate House at Cairo.

" Frumati { G. BELZONI. (seal.) / HENRY SALT. (seal.)

" Signé et scellé en notre présence,

IN. AGIS, / GIOV. OLIVIO. } frumati.

" Received, on the final settlement of our accounts this day, the five hundred pounds, mentioned in this agreement, by a draft from Henry Salt, Esq. on his Banker, &c.

" May 12th, 1819. Cairo. G. BELZONI.

" Agreed. HENRY SALT.

" True Copy. H. SALT."

CHAPTER II.

Discoveries of Belzoni under the auspices of Mr. Salt.—Belzoni opens the magnificent Temple of Ipsambul.—His success in other undertakings.—Death of Mr. Burkhardt (Sheik Ibrahim).—Salt's Letters to Sir Francis Darwin and Mr. Richards on that event.—Letter to Miss Halls.—Arrival of Lord Belmore and Salt at Thebes.—Their researches in that place.—Salt's Letter to Lord Mountnorris on the subject of Theban antiquities and discoveries.—Letter from Salt, at Thebes, to Mr. Bankes.

I TURN with pleasure from the consideration of these unpleasant transactions, to the important and interesting discoveries made by Mr. Belzoni, while employed under the immediate auspices and at the expense of the British Consul. In giving an account of his proceedings, I shall chiefly rely upon the statements contained in Mr. Salt's own letters, to various friends in England, descriptive of the extraordinary nature of the discoveries themselves, as well as of the remarkable zeal, sagacity, and perseverance evinced by Mr. Belzoni in the prosecution of his laborious researches.

The first undertaking in which Mr. Belzoni engaged was the removal of the Colossal head

of the younger Memnon, from Thebes to Alexandria, at the joint expense of Messrs. Burkhardt and Salt, by whom it was subsequently presented to the British Museum. The difficulty attendant on such an enterprise will be apparent to every one who has viewed this magnificent specimen of Egyptian art, which for grandeur of style may be fairly placed on a par with most of the best productions of Grecian sculpture.

The success which crowned the efforts of Mr. Belzoni, on this occasion, gave the highest satisfaction to his employers; and Mr. Salt, in particular, speaks of the achievement in the following strong terms of admiration.

"He has the singular merit," observes Mr. Salt, "of having removed from Thebes to Alexandria this celebrated piece of sculpture, to accomplish which it was necessary, after dragging it down upwards of a mile to the water-side, to place it on board a small boat, to remove it thence to another djerm at Rosetta, and afterwards to land and lodge it in a magazine at Alexandria; all of which was most surprisingly effected with the assistance solely of the native peasantry, and such simple machinery as Mr. Belzoni was able to get made under his own directions at Cairo. In fact, his great talents

and uncommon genius for mechanics have enabled him, with singular success, both at Thebes and other places, to discover objects of the rarest value in antiquity, that had long baffled the researches of the learned, and with trifling means to remove colossal fragments, which appear, by their own declaration, to have defied the efforts of the able engineers which accompanied the French army." *

As soon as Mr. Belzoni had secured this gigantic piece of sculpture on board his small boat, he proceeded beyond the second cataract, and undertook to open, for Mr. Salt, the magnificent Temple at Ipsambul, said to be the most extensive excavation in either Nubia or Egypt, and of which no description had been given since very remote periods. This was a work of great difficulty, and apparently of no inconsiderable risk, and presented obstacles which probably nothing but the personal strength and persevering spirit of Mr. Belzoni could have enabled him to overcome; every obstruction, however, seemed destined to fall before the sagacity and gigantic efforts of this extraordinary man. The natives whom he had hired to assist him, after working for a few days, and making little progress, grew

* Vide Quarterly Review, 1818.

tired of their employment, declared that it was unlawful to labour during the feast of Rhamadan, and finally left the party to its own resources. Thus deserted, Mr. Belzoni (with the assistance of Mr. Beechey and Captains Irby and Mangles, who laboured hard on the occasion), determined to attempt this apparently hopeless operation.

But here a fresh difficulty presented itself. The Sheik of the place, who had been instrumental in persuading the natives to discontinue their labour, resolved at once to put a stop to the proceedings of the Europeans, by prohibiting the supply of every description of provision, hoping by this measure to deprive them of the means of subsistence, and thus oblige them to depart, at least for that season. Fortunately, however, they had still left, in their boat, a bag of durrah, and on this and the Nile water they managed to support themselves during one-and-twenty days of the severest labour, when their most sanguine expectations were realized by the accomplishment of their arduous undertaking.

To give the reader some idea of this herculean task, it will only be necessary to state, that more than two-thirds of the front of this extensive temple were completely buried in the sand, and in some parts to the height of fifty feet, yet

through this enormous mass did these unassisted individuals, in a comparatively short period, work their way, till they finally succeeded in opening the structure and in penetrating into the interior.

Of the discoveries which were made on this his first visit to Ipsambul, a full account is given in Mr. Belzoni's work, and need not be in this place repeated, though it may be as well to notice the terms of admiration in which Mr. Salt expresses his sense of the great efforts made by Belzoni in the course of this enterprise. "The opening of the temple of Ipsambul," he observes, "was a work of the utmost difficulty, and one which required no ordinary talent to surmount, nearly the whole, when Mr. Belzoni first planned the undertaking, being buried under a bed of loose sand, upwards of fifty feet in depth.—This temple," he adds, "is on many accounts peculiarly interesting, as it satisfactorily tends to prove that the arts, as practised in Egypt, descended from Ethiopia, the style of the sculpture being, in several respects, superior to any thing that has yet been found in Egypt."*

On his return down the Nile to Cairo from this expedition, at the close of the year 1816, Mr. Belzoni brought with him, besides the large head

* Vide Quarterly Review, 1818.

and other antiquities already enumerated, six statues as large as life of women with lions' heads, and another of a young man, supposed to represent Jupiter Ammon with the ram's head on his knees, which he had dug out of the ruins of Karnak during his stay at Thebes. Sixteen other statues which he also found at the same place, and exactly similar to those of the above ladies, he got down to the banks of the Nile, where he left them till Mr. Salt should determine on their future destination. The great success which had attended the exertions of Mr. Belzoni induced Mr. Salt to employ him, in the following year, to pursue the researches which he had so fortunately commenced; and it was accordingly determined that early in the ensuing spring he should set off, in company with Mr. Beechey, to the upper country, on another journey of discovery.

At the end of February 1817, after Mr. Belzoni had safely deposited the head of Memnon at Alexandria, he and Mr. Beechey left Cairo on their second expedition to Ipsambul. They had previously received instructions from Mr. Salt to complete the opening of the Temple at that place, and were generally requested to lose no opportunity of excavating and searching for antiquities in those situations which appeared most likely to

hold forth the promise of an abundant supply of such articles. The extraordinary success which attended the great and well-directed exertions of Mr. Belzoni, during the ten months in which he remained in the employ of Mr. Salt, is perhaps without a parallel; he succeeded in completely uncovering the front of the temple at Ipsambul, opened six new tombs in the valley of Biban El Moluck, found in one of them the celebrated alabaster sarcophagus, and, at Thebes, discovered a colossal head of Orus, of fine granite, in good preservation, and of the finest workmanship, &c. These discoveries afforded Mr. Salt the highest gratification; and it is pleasing to observe the strong terms of admiration in which he expresses himself, in his communications with England, not only in relation to the antiquities themselves, but also as respects the singular merit of Mr. Belzoni's exertions in obtaining them.

"Of this tomb," says Mr. Salt, alluding to the one abovementioned, "I have forwarded some account to England. It consists of a long suite of passages and chambers, covered with sculptures and paintings in the most perfect state of preservation, the tints of which are so resplendent that it was found scarcely possible to imitate them with the best water-colours made in Eng-

land; and which, in fact, are executed on a principle and scale of colour that would make them, I conceive, retain their lustre even by the side of a Venetian picture. The sarcophagus of alabaster here discovered is a monument of the taste, delicate workmanship and skill in cutting so fragile a material, which will perhaps remain for ever unrivalled."

He adds in another paragraph: "Such are the principal undertakings which have been accomplished by Mr. Belzoni in Egypt and Nubia; but besides these, he has been signally successful in removing many valuable pieces of antiquity—in the discovery of statues and other interesting objects, his researches being evidently carried on with a very superior judgment.—I feel," Mr. Salt continues, "great satisfaction in thus being able to certify the extraordinary ability of Mr. Belzoni, the result of whose operations I have had such frequent opportunities of admiring; and I am more peculiarly delighted by his discoveries, from the circumstance that they have added many new objects of attraction to European travellers, whose society is at all times agreeable in so remote and uncultivated a region as Egypt."*

* "From a MS. memorandum of Mr. Salt." Vide Quarterly Review, 1818.

These discoveries having been communicated to Mr. Salt by Messrs. Belzoni and Beechey, he determined, in October 1817, in company with Lord Belmore and family, to proceed himself to the scene of these remarkable operations.

Before his departure, however, he was destined to sustain a severe shock by the death of his highly-valued friend Mr. Burkhardt, one of the most excellent and talented of those enterprising individuals who have fallen victims in the cause of African research. Mr. Salt was present with him till within a few hours of his dissolution, and the melancholy scene had such an effect on his spirits as to cast a gloom over the few remaining years of his own life. The following extracts from two of his letters, respectively addressed to Sir Francis Darwin and Mr. Bingham Richards, give some account of the death of this lamented traveller: —

After speaking of the embarkation of the head of Memnon for England, Mr. Salt adds, " You will be sorry to hear that this valuable traveller (Burkhardt), from whom so much was expected, only lived to hear of its departure from Alexandria, as on Wednesday last he was taken off by a dysentery of ten days' continuance. It is a terrible blow to the African Association, which

had built all its hopes, and with justice, on him; he was enterprising, yet cool and prudent, had been ten years preparing himself, had become a perfect Arab, and in two months intended to set out, through Fezzan, to Tombuctoo: God has otherwise disposed it. I saw him but a few hours before his death, and, though he felt all the bitterness of the disappointment, he bore it with the noblest courage.—H. S."

"To Sir Francis Darwin."

To Mr. Richards he writes: "Lord Belmore and family are here, and I am going to set out with them into Upper Egypt, not having before been able to move on account of business. * * * We have had, only a few days ago, a dreadful loss in the death of our valuable traveller, Sheik Ibrahim, who died after a few days' illness. It has been a great shock to me, for he was almost the only *conversable* friend I had at Cairo. Thus the hopes of the African Association are again blighted, and, I fear, it will be long before another plant will spring up so full of promise as the one that has been cut down.—H. S."

"To B. Richards, Esq."

About this period he addressed the following letter to my eldest sister, whom he used playfully

to style his *niece*, from the former marriage of my uncle with Miss Salt:—

"Cairo, Sept. 18th, 1817.

"MY DEAR *Niece*,

"You cannot conceive the heartfelt pleasure which your kind letter gave me. I have been vexed by the silence of your *two lazy brothers*, though I love them too much to let it alter my opinion of them. I very often think of your family circle, where, you may depend upon it, as much real happiness and comfort is found as exists anywhere in this world. You have all little *knobs* to get over, and particularly yourself; but, if you would think more of the present, and this is all that is worth thinking about, you would find ample reason to be content. You see I have not forgotten my old habits of preaching. Julia's marriage gave me great satisfaction, and I should be delighted above all things to see the *very little* Julia: I can fancy it to be a round, plump little animal, almost as pretty as mamma.

"How do you go on, my dear friend?—pray take pity upon my forlorn state, and let me hear every thing respecting you; depend upon it there is no one in the world more interested about your welfare. I am delighted to hear from various quarters that, amid the general distress, John goes

on thriving: Tom, I fancy, I see walking with a bundle of papers under his arm, meditating on cases of high import, which, I suppose, so much occupy him, that he has not a moment to spare for a banished man. * * * For myself—and you will, perhaps, expect to hear something about me —I am much as usual, not grumbling and growling like our friend * * * *, but buoyantly swimming along the stream of life, smiling at the vanity of all human affairs, yet glad to mingle occasionally in the giddy crowd.

" My time, however, is chiefly occupied with antiques, Egyptian gods and goddesses and demigods, whose pedigrees I can trace from the most remote periods, and in poring over coins which bear the semblance of nothing human or divine. Yet, laugh as we may at this pursuit, there is still great gratification in becoming acquainted with all the little circumstances of ancient times; and this knowledge is only to be acquired by ransacking tombs, poring over old inscriptions, and learning to decypher monograms, in which I assure you I am become very expert. But, jesting apart, I beg you will tell John that I have been very successful in statue-hunting, and that I have in my possession some specimens of Egyptian art

that will, some day or other, astonish him. Many discoveries, indeed, of interest have lately been made in Egypt; a certain Monsieur Caglio has found the old emerald-mines in the neighbourhood of Cosseir, and traced the ancient Roman, or rather Greek road, from the Nile to Berenice, by the side of which he has found temples beautifully adorned, and other matters of interest.

"I have myself been engaged, as far as money goes, in making researches at the Pyramids, in conjunction with a Captain Caviglia, who discovered a new chamber and long passage in the great pyramid, and who laid bare the fore-paws of the Sphinx, in which he found a small temple, covered with hieroglyphics and figures, and numerous inscriptions, placed by the Roman Emperors in token of their homage. Of these I have made sketches, which, with a memoir on the subject, will be soon forwarded to England. I have also opened by deputy a large temple in Ipsambul, in Nubia, where several chambers were found with walls covered with sculpture, of which the particulars will shortly be forwarded home.

"I am now setting out with Lord and Lady Belmore up the Nile, on a voyage to Nubia, and expect to be absent three or four months. The

season is most favourable—the climate at present that of a summer's day in England, and this will continue till May; but certainly the heat from that month to September is not bearable to those made of flesh and blood. As to the blacks here, and they are very numerous, the sun makes no impression upon them, which Herodotus, if I recollect rightly, attributes to the thickness of their skulls, and in this I have no doubt he was right. Really the society here is intolerable. If the women were not *rather pretty*, there would be no enduring their company, as one is obliged to forget all one has learned through life—all mythology, all knowledge of history, all information, in short, that is acquired by reading, is utterly thrown away upon them; but beauty, it must be confessed, makes up for a multitude of sins.

" I must draw to an end, being obliged to close this despatch; but, before I finish, let me entreat you to write to me often: you have nothing to do but to send your letters under cover to T. Bidwell, jun., Foreign Office, and they will be sure to reach me. Give my best regards to your sister Elizabeth, with many thanks for her letter, which shall not remain long unanswered. Kindest love to John, Tom, and Julia, and assure them

they have not a friend more interested in their fate, and believe me to be,

"Your affectionate friend,

"HENRY SALT."

"To Miss Halls."

On the arrival of Lord Belmore and Mr. Salt at Thebes, they spent some days in taking a general survey of the various antiquities which had recently been brought to light by the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Belzoni, when his lordship proceeded to Nubia, leaving Mr. Salt behind at Thebes, to examine more at leisure the many interesting objects with which he was surrounded. It was about this time that Mr. Belzoni discovered his groundless jealousy towards Mr. Salt in the presence of several English travellers, one of whom I have been informed was Colonel, now Major-General Sir Joseph Stratton, C.B., F.R.S., and who appears to have been one of those gentlemen to whom Mr. Salt alludes in his statement as having been present on the unpleasant occasion. This gentleman, I believe, is still living, and, I have been given to understand, speaks in terms of strong commendation of the temper and liberality evinced by Mr. Salt under circumstances which might have excited considerable irritation in a less dispassionate and generous character.

Not long after this disagreeable occurrence, Mr. Belzoni quitted Thebes to take down to Cairo some of the antiquities recently discovered, and, as soon as he had disembarked them from Mr. Salt's boat, he was to return with the necessary apparatus to remove the alabaster sarcophagus; Mr. Salt remaining in the mean while in the upper country with Mr. Beechey, to complete his drawings from the tombs newly opened, and from other valuable remains. While thus employed, he wrote home several letters to different individuals descriptive of the extraordinary discoveries which had been made. The following is extracted from a letter to Lord Mountnorris:—

"Thebes, Kings' Tombs, Jan. 18, 1818.

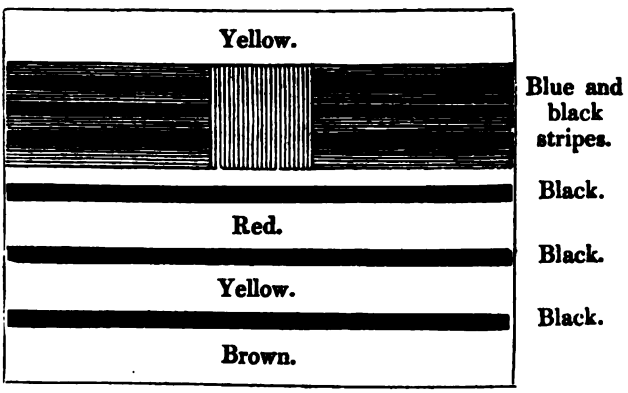
"But to return to Egypt—You have heard, probably, of Lord Belmore's visit to this country: he and his family stayed in my house for some time at Cairo, came up with me as far as this, and then left me to take a tour into Nubia, whence they are just returned. I am glad to say that they had a most agreeable voyage, succeeded in reaching the second cataract without the least accident, and confess they never enjoyed anything more than this voyage, the climate being most delicious, and the Agas, and others in command,

having afforded them every possible assistance. Fortunately, Lord Belmore had with him a very fine sextant, and his brother, Captain Corry, is a very accurate and attentive observer: they have taken many observations, indeed, at every place they have touched at. Monsieur Nouet's latitude of Syene they found right to a second; that is, *the one* given in the great French work, which must have been corrected from what they left engraved at Carnak, as it differs from it no less than three miles: this is curious. All the latitudes engraved on the Propylon at Thebes are wrong; how they found out their error is known only to themselves.

"Everything they have done from the Kings' Tombs, which is all that I have yet closely compared, is exceedingly bad, especially in what belongs to the colours, which are most perversely contrary to those in the originals. Of this, the drawings from the harp-tomb are the most remarkable specimens, having the names of *Du Tertre*, Devilliers, and Jollon, to vouch for their accuracy. Now the dress of the harper (in the upper drawing) ought to be white instead of black, and the lines down it red instead of white. The colours of the harp itself are all wrongly disposed, and with respect to the capped head upon it, the face

ought to be yellow instead of red, and the cap to be red instead of yellow; the beard, also, to be black instead of red. The figure of the hero seated, though said to be drawn on a scale, ought to be one-third higher, his head-dress mingling with the blue at top. The figure itself is, in the original, of a black colour throughout, with the eyebrows, nails on the hands, &c. marked out in white; in the French it is red: and, where the fine blue jacket and pantaloons are given in the French drawing, there is nothing in the original but the black colour of the arms and legs. The body-dress, instead of being yellow, ought to be blue, and the white breeches yellow. The drapery behind the chair is red, and not blue. The chair is ornamented with horizontal stripes of blue and black, with a dotted line intervening, and is not chequered red, blue, and white, as the French have given it; and the border at the bottom is disposed in the following way, which, if you meet with the original, you will find as different almost as white from black from that in the French work.*

* It is very difficult to account for these singular deviations in colour, &c. from the Egyptian originals. I knew Du Tertre at Paris in 1802, when he was obliging enough to show me his portfolios of Egyptian drawings, and I confess I have never seen anything in water-colours that surpassed his produc-



"These are only a portion of the errors, and the one opposite is nearly as incorrect, especially in the red close-sleeved waistcoat and close pantions, either in the beauty of their execution or in the strong internal evidence they bore of the most scrupulous accuracy. Mr. Salt, I know, entertained the same respect for this gentleman's talents and genius, and I have now a letter of his before me in which he says, "Du Tertre, whose original sketches you saw at Paris, has done the only things that deserve to be admired in the great French work; one of the Temple of Edfou is a *chef-d'œuvre* both as to accuracy and effect." Perhaps, though Du Tertre's name may have been made use of, he might nevertheless have had little to do with the superintendance of the *publication* of the great French work, the colouring of which might have been left to inferior artists, who, like too many of their countrymen, may have fallen into their *besetting sin* of sacrificing truth to some fanciful notion of improvement. Mr. Salt's own *coloured* drawing of the Harper from the above King's tomb is now in England, and will probably appear before the public in a forthcoming work; it was *finished* on the *spot*, and is a perfect

taloons, which are more particularly to be found fault with, as no such dress, as far as I have observed, was ever in use among the ancient Egyptians. In design they have made errors almost as palpable, especially a ludicrous one in the celebrated Judgement scene, where some figures are walking up steps, and another standing in front of Osiris with a pair of scales, while above is represented a boat with a pig in it, apparently driven away by a monkey. Now in the corner of this plate, to the left as you look at it, the French have represented four flying birds with human heads (like Cherubs), which they conjecture, most *happily*, to be the souls of the blessed after passing through the ordeal of judgement; and from it have built up in the body of the work (*vide* Dissertation on the Kings' Tombs) a beautiful theory. But unfortunately it happens, on examining these said Cherubs with a light, that they prove to be gazelles or goats' heads reversed (rather a common representation in the tombs), the horns being mistaken for birds' legs, the ears for their tails, and the neck, where it is cut off, for their wings; which puts a most conclusive bar to their reason-

fac-simile. On the margin of this drawing the following sentence is written: "J'ai honte de mes compatriots—*Le Conte de Forbin.*"—E.

ing, and will remain for ever as an unlucky instance of their vaunted accuracy!

"I have made a fac-simile of the Harper on the left, and Mr. Beechey is making one of that on the right. It is worth remarking, that the French artists have from these two, *so accurately delineated* in their work, restored by *analogy* the design in front, which they had not time to colour, and of course it is *equally* admirable for its fidelity to the original. Their architectural plans and the sculpture on the temples, I have not yet sufficiently examined.

"I have the pleasure to announce to you that, under my auspices, a brilliant discovery has been made of a new King's tomb, exquisitely painted, and with the colours as fresh as on the day it was completed; it throws everything else, as far as colour goes, completely into the back-ground. The most minute attention and painful labour are not equal to give a faithful idea of the fascinating effects of these designs. The scale of colour on which they are painted is that of using pure vermilion, ochres, and indigo; and yet they are not gaudy, owing to the judicious balance of the colours, and the artful management of the blacks. It is plain that they worked on a regular system, which had for its basis, as Mr. West would say,

the colours of the rainbow, as there is not an ornament, throughout the dresses of the figures, where the red, yellow and blue, are not alternately mingled, which produces an harmony that is really in some of the designs delicious. I have already completed five designs, and Mr. Beechey three, upon the scales of a third, fourth and fifth, as best suited to the size of the figures; and I assure you they begin to make a show. My memoir and sketches of the Pyramids and Sphinx is kept back to be sent home by Mr. Bankes, whom I expect here in about a fortnight, he having determined on a second visit to Egypt, partly on account of our new discoveries.

"In the way of antiquities I have been very fortunate; though my expenses have far exceeded what I had intended, which, however, from my father's bequest will prove no very serious inconvenience. In the new tomb I have found a sarcophagus of white alabaster, covered with hieroglyphics: the sarcophagus itself entire, and enough of the cover to make out its shape. I shall not, of course, feel easy about it, till I see it at least safe in Cairo. Among the articles I have already sent to Cairo, and which I hear are safely arrived, is the famous French stone, with eight figures; another head of granite, not so large as

that of the young Memnon, but with a finer polish, and entire; a statue of a sitting figure, as large as life, of a sort of marble, of exquisite workmanship; thirty papyrus, and an innumerable list of smaller things. I shall be able to spare you many fine articles, and the rest I think, if the idea is approved, of offering to the British Museum. All that I wish is, to be reimbursed my expenses, as it breaks in seriously on the small patrimony which I have inherited, and which is all that I have to look to for support should I ever return to England, which, after a certain number of years, I cannot help, even upon that small pittance, looking forward to.

"I have taken the liberty of sending this letter open to Mr. Hamilton, as I really have not time, before the departure of the courier, to write to him, and I feel anxious that he should be acquainted with my proceedings.

"HENRY SALT."

"To the Earl of Mountnorris."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. SALT TO MR. B.

"Kings' Tombs, Thebes, 1818.

"I have heard with great delight of the safe arrival of the Memnon's head at Malta, and hope that, before long, it may as safely reach England.

Pray be particular in letting me know what is thought of it. I have been very successful, as you may communicate to Mr. Hamilton, in my researches in Upper Egypt; and, above all, have discovered a King's tomb, where the paintings are exquisitely beautiful and fresh as on the day they were finished. I have completed six drawings already, *coloured* in the tomb by candle-light. The satisfaction is, that there is no necessity to restore or improve, but that on the contrary, with every attention and effort, it is not possible to equal the originals.

"The Deftardar Bey, who rules in Upper Egypt, has been to visit it in state, and I expect the Pasha himself will not rest long without seeing it. I am getting a door ready for it with iron bolts and bars, &c. and hope to be able to keep it, so long as I remain in Egypt, open and entire for the inspection of travellers. It throws a new light on Egyptian colouring, and is, without comparison, the finest monument of ancient art, as far as respects painting, that exists.

"HENRY SALT."

CHAPTER III.

Salt's eulogium on the colouring of the ancient Egyptians.—The author's remarks on the subject.—Salt's surprise at Belzoni's protracted stay at Cairo.—Belzoni's success in opening the Pyramid of Cephrenes.—Salt's animated description of that achievement.—Letter to the author on the subject of Egyptian antiquities and sculpture.—Captain Caviglia.—Sketch of that enterprising person's proceedings.—Salt's examination of the Chambers in the Great Pyramid.—General observations.

THE warm eulogium which Mr. Salt has passed upon the colouring of the ancient Egyptians in the foregoing extracts, has been since verbally sanctioned by Mr. Beechey, who speaks of the paintings in the new King's tomb in a strain of nearly similar enthusiasm. Now as both these gentlemen were educated as artists, and possessed an excellent eye for colour, it seems unlikely that they should either of them have been deceived, as to general effect, upon a subject on which they were so well qualified to judge; nevertheless, I must confess that there are some obstacles stand-

ing in the way of their description, which, as an *artist*, I feel almost insurmountable. From the above account, it may readily be supposed that the Egyptian artist must have been perfectly conversant with the balance of the different *primitive* colours he employed; but in what manner such "delicious" and harmonious effects could have been produced by any artful arrangement of *strong* and *unbroken* colours, without the aid of reflexes, or the intervention of the endless variety of tints by which the experienced colourist deludes the eye and conducts it from the blaze of day to the calm twilight of evening and the sombre shadows of night, it is scarcely possible to conjecture.

It is however to be observed, that Mr. Salt and Mr. Beechey viewed and copied the paintings in the tomb by "candle-light," which, from its neutralizing effect upon the various colours, would tend to mitigate the harshness of their opposition, and might produce an appearance of harmony that would have been sought for in vain by the light of day; and hence might arise the impossibility, experienced by Mr. Salt, of imparting to his drawings the "fascinating" effects of the originals. He appears to have forgotten the very dissimilar mediums through which he was in the

habit of contemplating the Egyptian work and his own imitations of it, and has attributed hastily to his want of skill the deficiencies in his drawings, which, in all probability, would be found to exist in an equal degree in the originals, could they be seen in open daylight: an idea, indeed, which appears to receive *some* confirmation from a passage in one of his letters, in which he says, "The colours in many of the chambers retain all their original freshness, and present (from their being *generalized*, perhaps, by the reflections of the surrounding sand and pale-coloured stones,) a softened and harmonious effect, notwithstanding their vivid colours, that is very grateful to the eye."

Not however to dwell at any greater length upon a question chiefly technical, it appears evident that considerable progress was made by the ancient Egyptians, in very early ages, not only in the first principles of colour, but also in design, composition, and drawing. "The paintings," observes Mrs. Charles Lushington in describing the above King's tomb, "with colours as vivid as those of any modern artist, and the engravings in alto and basso-relievo in perfect preservation, did not delight me so much as an unfinished chamber, the walls of which were covered

with *drawings*, previously to their being cut on the stone. These were mere outlines, in black or red, but sketched with such boldness and lightness, that the more I looked the more I admired. Scarcely can I yet believe the hand that traced them to have been dead so many centuries; many of the figures are as large as life, and, though mere outlines, wrought with as much expression as a finished painting. Flaxman's illustrations may serve to give an idea of the sort of thing in miniature; but I doubt whether even these must not yield in *spirit* and *grace* to the Egyptian composition."*

So far, then, as relates to this *outline* chamber, the account of Messrs. Salt and Beechey is fully corroborated by Mrs. Lushington, though she does not appear to have held the merits of the *finished* paintings in an equal degree of estimation. In the absence of the originals it is difficult to form a decided opinion of the progress made by the Egyptians in colour; but from an accurate inspection of the copies sent over by Mr. Salt, I am induced to believe that the knowledge of their painters on this subject was in a great degree limited to the art of judiciously contrasting warm with cool primitive colours. Their attention ap-

* "Journey from Calcutta to Europe," page 67.

pears to have been solely directed to the *local* colours of objects, and they seem to have been entirely ignorant of chiaroscuro and of the art of breaking their colours; indeed there is some reason to imagine that their ideas of colour were as circumscribed and conventional as their notions of form, it being mentioned by Mr. Hamilton, that in many of their pictures which he inspected, "the complexion of the men is invariably red, and that of the women yellow," a practice which is also said to prevail in the Abyssinian pictures at the present day, where the two sexes are uniformly represented in the same colours.

But to return from this digression. While Mr. Salt was busily employing himself at Thebes, in making drawings from the various remains which had lately been brought to light, the protracted stay of Mr. Belzoni at Cairo began to occasion him a good deal of surprise, more especially as the former, as soon as he had safely deposited his cargo of antiquities at Cairo, was to have returned to Thebes, to fetch away the sarcophagus and other valuable articles. Week after week however elapsed without any direct intelligence being received respecting the cause of his long delay. At length Mr. Salt became weary of expecting him, and determined to proceed him-

self to Cairo, to ascertain the reason of his continued absence.

On his arrival at that place, he found Mr. Belzoni living in the Consular house, and in the same irritable disposition of mind which he had evinced when they last parted. By his moderation and liberality, however, Mr. Salt succeeded in again quieting his wayward spirit, and though he had no great reason to be satisfied with Belzoni's total neglect of his affairs during a period in which he was in the receipt of a considerable salary for his services, yet he felt so much pleased with the complete success which had attended Mr. Belzoni's extraordinary exertions in opening the Pyramid of Cephrenes, that he continued to treat him with the greatest kindness and forbearance, and wrote home to England the following animated description of this noble achievement.

"The opening of this pyramid had long been considered an object of so hopeless a nature, that it is difficult to conceive how any person could be found sanguine enough to make the attempt; and even after the discovery, with great labour, of the forced entrance, it required great perseverance in Belzoni, and confidence in his own views, to induce him to continue the operation,

when it became evident that the extensive labours of his predecessors in the enterprise had so completely failed. He himself has pointed out, in some degree, his motives for trying the particular point where he came upon the true entrance: otherwise, on examining it, nothing can present a more hopeless prospect. The direct manner in which he dug down upon the door affords, however, the most incontestable proof that chance had nothing to do with the discovery. Of the discovery itself, Mr. Belzoni has given a very clear description, and his drawings present a perfect idea of the channels, chambers, and entrances. Of the labours of the undertaking, no one can form an idea. Notwithstanding the masses of stone which he had to remove, and the hardness of the materials which impeded his progress, the whole was effected entirely at his own risk and expense." *

The opening of this pyramid was nearly the last, as it was perhaps the greatest of Mr. Belzoni's undertakings, and the sagacity and perseverance he displayed on the occasion greatly added to his former reputation. He has given in his work a clear and excellent account of his proceedings throughout the whole of this arduous

* Vide Quarterly Review, 1818.

enterprise, which no one can peruse without feelings of the warmest admiration.

Soon after Mr. Salt's late arrival, he came, as is mentioned in his statement, to an amicable and, as he supposed, final arrangement with Mr. Belzoni, when the latter went up the Nile to Thebes to fulfil his share of the agreement, leaving Mr. Salt at Cairo.

About this period he wrote me a letter, from which the following are extracts, and which give some account of his late proceedings.

" Cairo, October, 1818.

" DEAR HALLS,

* * * " I am sincerely glad to learn that you get on tolerably well, in the existing state of things, in your *odious* profession, as Miss —— very justly terms it. Should you ever be tired of it, you have nothing to do but to come and reside with me in Egypt, where we shall be able to pass the time agreeably enough together, among the temples and antiquities of the most interesting nation which history, perhaps, records. In this, however, I do not believe you will agree with me, as you entertain certain odd notions about liberty, and cannot, I know, admire a people content, from the earliest times, to live in a sort of slavery to their Kings; while, for my own part,

I think it quite as good as living under the influence of a mob,* and being subject to all the restraint of a highly civilized state of society, the blessings of which scarcely make up for the curse of a single life which it entails on half its members.

"You will be glad to hear that I have a fine collection of Egyptian sculpture, and that I have managed, notwithstanding all the press of business, to make a number of sketches, &c. that may some day or other serve to amuse my friends over their fire-side in Great Marlborough Street. As usual, they are scattered through half a hundred sketch-books—some on one side of a leaf and some on the other; but for this they will not prove the less interesting to you. I have not time to enter into any thing like an account of half the new discoveries made in Egypt since my arrival here, but really they have been very extraordinary.

"On my return from Thebes, I will write to you more at length about these things. * * * I had a kind letter from General Macleod in India, the other day, who talks of returning by this route. He desires to be particularly remem-

* The one alternative is as bad as the other; but surely there is no necessity for adopting either extreme.—E.

bered to you. * * * * I often think of the many happy hours we have spent together—'hours of bliss never to return!' Yet, though at a distance, to think of those we love is a pleasure —to hear from them would be a greater.

"Your's, &c.

H. SALT."

"J. J. Halls, Esq. Great Marlborough Street."

While such great discoveries had been accomplishing, during the last two or three years, by Mr. Belzoni, another enterprising individual appeared in the field of research, of an equally adventurous and enterprising spirit, in the person of Captain Caviglia. In giving an account of this gentleman's proceedings, I shall confine myself to a very rapid sketch only of the more important objects of his discovery, being aware that a detailed and finished account of his undertakings, written by Mr. Salt, and accompanied by numerous illustrations, is likely to be laid before the public. I will only add, that the brief notice I am about to take of Captain Caviglia's achievements is entirely founded upon a previous MS. of Mr. Salt's, forwarded by him through Colonel Stratton to Mr. Hamilton in 1818, who has obligingly placed it at my disposal.

Captain Caviglia was by birth an Italian, and was, at the period of his operations in Egypt, the master, if not the owner, of a mercantile vessel in the Mediterranean trade, sailing under the British flag. He is described, by Mr. Salt, as a gentleman with whose amiable character is blended an ardent enthusiasm for antiquarian research, and who had long entertained an opinion that, among the ancient remains, so celebrated in Egypt, much yet remained to be explored, which might throw a light upon the peculiar rites and usages of its former inhabitants; and as nothing had excited his attention more than the Pyramids of Ghizeh, he had determined, whenever the opportunity might occur, to exert his utmost efforts towards clearing up the mystery which still hung over the interior of these venerable structures. A favourable occasion having been at length afforded him for prosecuting his views, he determined to proceed from Alexandria to Cairo, where he arrived on the 26th of December 1816, and soon afterwards entered into an arrangement with two gentlemen, of the names of Kabitziet and La Fuentes, in which it was agreed that they should accompany him with cords and other necessary apparatus to the Pyramids; where they had no sooner arrived, on the 8th of January 1817, than

Captain Caviglia proceeded to examine the "well" in the chamber of the Great Pyramid, which, Mr. Salt observes, had so long baffled all research,* and concerning which so many terrible reports were in circulation, of persons having been let down who never returned to explain the dreadful mysteries in which it was supposed to be enveloped. Everything being prepared, Captain Caviglia, by means of a rope tied round his waist, the other end of which was passed over a cross-bar laid athwart the mouth of the "well," proceeded with a lamp in his hand upon this hazardous undertaking, his friends above holding the end of the cord in their hands to let him gradually down.

After descending about twenty feet, in a perpendicular direction, he came to a kind of landing

* Mr. Salt seems, *at this time*, not to have been aware of the recent publication of a MS. by the late Mr. Davison, which appeared in Walpole's Memoirs in 1817. In the year 1763 Mr. Davison, then Consul at Algiers, accompanied Wortley Montague to Egypt, and descended into this "well," of which he gives a very accurate description; he also discovered a second chamber in the Great Pyramid. In both these enterprises he appears to have encountered nearly the same obstacles which opposed the progress of Caviglia; but though he had the merit of their discovery, yet, as his success was unknown to the more recent explorer, the great exertions of the latter are not the less deserving of our wonder and admiration.—E.

place, where the passage took rather a sharp inclination to the south, which he began to follow, but was soon impeded by some stones too unwieldy for him to remove: he therefore re-ascended, and persuaded one of the boldest of the Arabs to go down with him, by whose assistance and that of his friends above, he succeeded in removing all the stones, except one large block of granite, about two feet and a half in diameter, which afterwards cost him infinite labour to displace. For the present, however, he had opened a passage wide enough for a man to pass, when Mr. Kabitziet descended to the block of granite, and Captain Caviglia recommenced his enterprise. About fourteen feet lower down, he came to a perpendicular descent, lined with mason-work, opening into a grotto, seventeen feet in diameter and four in height: here he ascertained that the "well" continued its course downwards, but seemed difficult of access; he therefore called to his friends to take up new positions, when Mr. Fuentes descended to the granite stone and Mr. Kabitziet to the grotto.

A rope being again attached to him, Captain Caviglia once more began to descend, and found that the artificial lining of mason-work was continued, in a perpendicular direction, to the same

distance below the grotto as it was above; which led him to conclude it had been intended as a support to the surrounding gravel. The channel, as before, took a steep inclination to the south; the descent, however, became less arduous from there being a succession of holes, like rough steps, which afforded a more secure footing than before. Still, as he got lower, the awefulness of his situation every moment encreased from the excessive heat and the impurity of the air. The lamp burnt with a faint and glimmering light, while, though he had advanced above a hundred feet from the grotto, the passage continued to open below him like an unfathomable abyss.

As long, however, as the cord and the lamp would last, he was determined to proceed, till at length at the depth of 125 feet, he came to the conclusion of this his first labour, where the passage ended by a short perpendicular descent, among loose stones and rubbish. He now returned exhausted to his friends, but had scarcely time to reach the grotto when all their lamps became extinguished, and the whole party was forced to make a precipitate retreat. On the same day Captain Caviglia and his companions returned to Cairo, where they were overwhelmed with the congratulations of their acquaintance;

some of whom had accused them of rashness and had predicted the failure of the attempt.

Captain Caviglia, not yet feeling satisfied at the result of his late research, and conjecturing, from the ground having sounded hollow under his feet, that the "well" must still have some concealed outlet, determined to try if, by excavating, he could not make some farther discovery. Mr. Kabitziet also, being highly pleased with what had been already accomplished, agreed to contribute a moiety of the expenses that might be incurred, though his occupations forbade his engaging actively in the labour; but Mr. Fuentes ceased to take further interest in the undertaking.

In consequence of the above agreement, Captain Caviglia, on the 18th of January, went over with the necessary implements and took up his permanent residence at the Great Pyramid. Having pitched two tents for that purpose on the mound in front of the entrance, he immediately, with some Arabs, hired at very exorbitant wages, commenced his operations at the bottom of the "well," drawing up with baskets and cords the loose earth from below; but though he himself laboured hard at the bottom, in order to encourage the others, he proceeded so slowly, in consequence of their dislike to the employment, that he was

obliged to suspend the enterprise until he had obtained an order for a daily supply of men, with proper persons to superintend their labours; notwithstanding which, it is still almost inconceivable how he could so far surmount the prejudices of these people as to induce them to work in so confined a space, where light, after the first half-hour, would not burn, and consequently, where everything was to be done by feeling; the heat at the same time being so intense, and the air so suffocating, that it was impossible to remain below one hour at a time without severely suffering from its effects.

At length, matters became so serious, that one Arab was brought up nearly dead, and others, on ascending, fainted away; so that, in spite of the restraint laid upon them, many abandoned their labour, declaring they were willing to work, but not to die, for him. These discouraging circumstances induced Caviglia to turn his attention towards clearing the principal entrance to the Pyramid, as he hoped by so doing to open a free passage to the air, which it not only effected, but also led to an unexpected conclusion of his labours; for, on proceeding, he discovered that the main-channel below the entrance did not terminate in the way asserted by Maillet, but that, on

the contrary, though obstructed by large masses of calcareous stone and granite, probably placed there for that purpose, it still continued on the same inclined angle downwards, of the same dimensions, and the sides worked with equal care, as in the channel above, though filled up nearly to the top with earth and fragments of stone.

Having advanced about 150 feet, Captain Caviglia, in clearing out this passage, had again to encounter his former embarrassments from the suffocating heat and impurity of the air, and it was only by conciliation and encreased wages that he could tempt the working Arabs to proceed with the undertaking. At length his own health began to be visibly impaired, and he was attacked with a spitting of blood which seriously alarmed his friends at Cairo, though no consideration could induce him to desist from his pursuits.

About this period Mr. Salt and Mr. Briggs returned from Alexandria, and being struck with admiration at the progress that had been made, and aware of the great expense already incurred, proposed to the indefatigable excavator and his colleague that they should share in the disbursements. On the 14th of March the excavation was carried down as low as 200 feet in this new passage, without anything remarkable

being observed, except that the mason-work was discontinued where the rock commences, and that, at about 116 feet below, there was a wide fissure in the rock which seemed to correspond with the one in the lower shaft of the well.

Soon afterwards, however, a doorway on the right of the channel was discovered, and, in a few hours, a smell of sulphur was perceived which seemed to render it probable that this doorway communicated with the "well," as some had been burnt there by Caviglia in order to purify the air. The earth too became of a darker hue, and a portion being removed, a bat flew out. These circumstances excited much expectation, which was soon afterwards gratified by the channel being found at once to open upon the bottom of the "well," where the baskets, cord, &c. were observed which had been employed in the late excavation.*

This discovery was valuable in so far as it produced a free circulation of air through the new

* These operations of Caviglia, in exploring and clearing out the "well" and angular passage, gave rise to the remarkable discovery, made by Captains Irby and Mangles, that from the said angular passage on the night of the 21st of March 1817, the north pole star was visible at the period of its culminating.—E.

passage and up the shaft of the " well;" thus dissipating, for the future, all idea of danger from the impurity of the atmosphere. Mr. Salt soon afterwards ascended from the doorway up to the entrance of the " well" in the great gallery, without experiencing any great degree of inconvenience.

Proceeding with his excavation Captain Caviglia soon afterwards discovered, that the new passage ended in a spacious chamber, situated almost perpendicularly beneath the central point of the pyramid. This chamber &c. Mr. Salt, on the 26th March, had an opportunity of carefully examining, when he found, after passing the doorway, that the passage communicating with the " well" continues twenty-three feet farther on the same inclined plane, when it becomes narrower and runs in an horizontal direction about twenty-eight feet till it opens upon the north-eastern corner of the chamber. On the right hand of this passage a recess is cut in the rock, about five feet across and three deep, corresponding in its situation to the one in front of the King's chamber. The new chamber is forty-six feet long by twenty-seven feet broad; irregularly excavated and with a flat roof. When first discovered it was nearly filled with loose stones and rubbish, which were subse-

quently removed. From the singular construction of this chamber it is difficult to conceive a correct notion of its general shape. The rock on each side, at the east end, is described as forming a floor, on a level with the horizontal passage, extending about half way along the chamber; and the chamber there is fifteen feet high, while in the central compartment the rock is excavated five feet lower down, with a hollow space in the middle, bearing the appearance of the commencement of a well.

On descending into the lower compartment, it is said to continue lengthways, gradually narrowing to three feet wide and rising by four irregular steps up to the western end of the chamber, where there is scarcely room to stand upright between the ceiling and the floor. In the same direction also are cut two galleries, or passages, on the sides close to the walls, each about three feet wide, terminating in rude seats, carved in the rock, which may have served as seats, or pedestals for statues; the intermediate platforms not being more than three feet from the ceiling, and rudely shaped, as if broken up in search of treasure. Over the northern platforms are some Roman characters, smoked with the flame of a candle, and so rudely formed as to be unintelligible, a

circumstance partly to be attributed to the rock having mouldered away, probably from the effects of damp, the chamber bearing evident signs of moisture, caused by the rain-water finding its way in at certain seasons of the year from the entrance. On the south side of this chamber is excavated another passage, just wide and high enough for a man to creep along upon his hands and knees. It enters fifty-four feet horizontally into the rock, and there abruptly terminates.

" Before I quit this chamber," (says Mr. Salt,) " I must observe that though it now bears so rude and unfinished an appearance, yet, after comparing it very carefully with many other subterranean chambers that have been disfigured by the effects of time and the rude hands of curious inquirers, I cannot help entertaining an opinion that it was once highly ornamented, and perhaps used for carrying on some secret mysteries.* I confess that I

* It seems difficult to conjecture on what grounds Mr. Salt entertained the above opinion, as the details of his description certainly appear to favour the supposition of this chamber being merely an unfinished excavation. The *commencement* of a well in its central compartment, the long passage literally " leading to nothing," and the fact of *no* vestige of ornamental remains being found among the rubbish with which it was filled, all tend to confirm the notion that the apartment must have been left originally in an incomplete state.—E.

had flattered myself, before it was cleared out, that it would be found to correspond with the one described by Herodotus as containing the tomb of Cheops, and into which, according to the usual interpretation of the passage, was introduced a canal from the Nile; but after the necessary examination, I was reluctantly compelled to relinquish the idea from there being no inlet for the water to enter, and from finding that the Nile, according to the late French observations, does not rise to within thirty feet of its level when the river stands at its highest elevation. From an expression, however, in Strabo, that the entrance leads directly down to the chamber in which stood the 'thua,' there seems some reason to believe that the new chamber was the only one open in his day: a circumstance confirmed by Pliny's making mention only of what he calls a 'well' at eighty-six cubits below the surface, which also very nearly agrees with the actual depth of this chamber.

"It was left for a Mussulman to discover the real sanctuary and to despoil the tombs of their contents. Al Hamoun, the son of Haroun al Raschid, prompted by the treasure-searching spirit of the age, effected this laborious undertaking, and though the difficulties could not have amounted

to what the prosing genius of Maillet has supposed, yet they might well have defied any efforts except those of a sovereign enthusiastic in the pursuit. The Arab authors of best repute have recounted the details of this discovery, and every circumstance, in the present aspect of the pyramid, serves to confirm their veracity."

Captain Caviglia's next operation was the clearing out of the Queen's chamber, which he undertook in the hope of finding a sarcophagus there, similar to the one in the chamber above. His labour, however, was but ill-requited, as he found nothing except bare walls incrusted with a thick coat of salt. He also examined and cleared out an horizontal passage, full of loose stones, which commences under a kind of arch at the east end of the same apartment. It can be traced about forty feet into the solid body of the pyramid. The first twelve or fourteen feet form a kind of recess, which may be coeval with the structure itself, but the remainder has probably been more recently excavated. This passage was noticed before by Monsieur Olivier, and the names of "Paisley" and "Munro" are found inscribed at the farther extremity.

The travellers Niebuhr and Bruce having men-

tioned an apartment, *first discovered by Mr. Davison,** to which there is an entrance from the great gallery, Captain Caviglia, by means of a rope-ladder, contrived to ascend to it, and, after creeping through a narrow, horizontal, and curved passage, came, by a break in the wall, to the chamber, which proved to be of larger dimensions, in length and breadth, than the King's chamber, over which it is immediately situated, though in height it does not exceed four feet. The sides and roof are coated with red granite of the finest polish, while the floor is disposed in a species of regular ridges, resembling those of a corn-field, and produced, as it was ascertained, by its being formed of the upper sides of the individual blocks of granite which constitute the roof of the chamber below. The singular dimensions of this apartment, and the circumstance of its being so highly

* It is evident, from the above passage, that Mr. Salt, *at the time of his writing it*, must have known of Mr. Walpole's recent publication, and yet it is equally certain that in the *early part* of his memoir he (Mr. Salt) attributes the discovery of *the well* in the chamber of the Great Pyramid to Caviglia instead of Mr. Davison, who had explored it, it appears, fifty-four years before. Perhaps, being a new publication, Mr. Walpole's work might have reached Mr. Salt while actually employed on his memoir, and in that case he may have omitted to correct the error into which he had inadvertently fallen when writing the earlier part.—E.

adorned with polished granite, led to the expectation of some farther discovery, which, after the most rigid examination, ended in disappointment. The polish on the granite in this chamber, it may be noticed, affords an unanswerable refutation of some observations made by Norden respecting the remote antiquity of the pyramids compared with that of the other edifices in Egypt, which are deduced from the groundless supposition that the art of polishing that material was unknown in the country at the period when these mighty structures were erected.

CHAPTER IV.

Caviglia's Examination of the numerous Ruins and Tumuli on the Banks of the Nile. — Hieroglyphics. — Salt's Description of the internal Structure of the Mausoleums. — Egyptian Sculpture. — Farther Researches of Caviglia. — The most ancient Examples of Art in the World. — The Catacombs explored by Caviglia. — Excavation of the Sphynx. — Its Appearance after it was denuded. — Operations of the French Engineers on that colossal Image. — Caviglia's Perseverance.

As soon as Captain Caviglia had completed his labours at the Great Pyramid, which, it is to be regretted, do not appear to have been rewarded by very important results, he directed his attention to a particular examination of some of the prodigious assemblage of ruined edifices and tumuli that lie dispersed without order about the various pyramids, and which extend to an almost interminable distance to the north and south, along the left bank of the Nile. These edifices appear to be in general of an oblong form, placed longitudinally north and south, and are construct-

ed of large masses of stone, having the walls slightly inclined from the perpendicular inwards, according to the practice usually observed in Egyptian structures. They all appear to have had flat roofs, with a sort of parapet round the outside, formed of stones rounded at top, and rising about a foot above the level of the terrace; the stones of which the walls are constructed being of various and unequal size, seldom rectangular, though very neatly fitted to each other, somewhat in the same manner as those of the Cyclopean buildings in Greece. Some have doorways carved like those at the entrance of the catacombs, ornamented above with a volute covered with hieroglyphics; while others have small square apertures in the side, gradually narrowing inwards, to admit the light into their several chambers. These doors and windows are invariably found on the northern and eastern sides; many have been constructed without apertures, being decorated with grooves only, which give the false appearance of portals. Not merely the doorways, but the whole line of one of these edifices bear the traces of hieroglyphics; and it is worthy of remark, that one of the stones which is thus ornamented has also other hieroglyphics and figures, on the reverse, turned upside down and

incomplete, which appears to prove beyond a doubt that it constituted *previously* a part of some other edifice. *Far the greater number*, however, of these mausoleums appear to have been *quite plain*, having a few unornamented chambers only, and one well, or more, in the centre of each, of considerable depth, conducting to a small apartment which served as a receptacle for the dead. These last appear to be very antient, and a few of them are of such unusual magnitude, that, had not the Pyramids existed, they would have been considered as objects of the greatest curiosity. Only one of these monuments was found entire, or nearly so, the rest being broken up, and for the most part in ruins, the stones even presenting all the various stages of decomposition, according to the respective antiquity of the different edifices: whence it may be inferred that the adjacent tumuli have been composed of the mouldering relics of similar monuments.

It has been conjectured by some writers on the subject, that these structures are of posterior date to the Pyramids, owing to the circumstance of some of them being ornamented with hieroglyphics; but this idea, if it merit serious attention, can only be applied to those which are so adorned, the rest being constructed on as plain and simple

a principle as the Pyramids themselves; while the total decomposition of some of the larger monuments, though built of the same materials and exposed only to the same accidents of climate, serves only to shew their equal, if not superior claim to antiquity.

It may also be remarked, that some traces of hieroglyphics have been noticed extending from stone to stone, and which appear to have occupied considerable space, on the great portal in front of the second Pyramid, which has been always allowed to be coeval with the fabric itself, and, if historians of the highest credit are to be believed, even the Pyramids were once similarly adorned. Moreover, on all the remains of the most antient cities, such as Or, Zoan, &c., hieroglyphics are found, which, if the Pyramids were built by the sovereigns mentioned in Herodotus, (of which there appears no reason to doubt,) they must have been of more remote date than the Pyramids. It must be remembered, likewise, that the same hieroglyphics which are conspicuous on the obelisk at Heliopolis are also prominent on the tablets of the Sphinx.

From these and other arguments adduced, Mr. Salt, after a very minute examination of these monuments, entertained the notion that the spot

express purpose of being seen from an adjoining corridor by the friends and relatives of the deceased, especially as the more perfect statue appeared to bear evident marks of being intended as a portrait of the person whom it was designed to represent, the several parts being marked with strict attention to nature, and coloured after life, with artificial eyes of glass or transparent stones, to give a more perfect resemblance of a living man.

The identical head belonging to this statue, unfortunately could not be found; but another of the same style and materials (probably belonging to the foot and pedestal before noticed), was discovered, and supplied the deficiency in the former. This head, even in its present state, is extremely valuable, from its similarity in style and features to that of the Sphinx; having the same facial line, the same sweetness of expression and marking in the mouth, and the same roundness and peculiarity which characterize the rest of the features: circumstances which tend to prove its almost equal antiquity. In attempting to remove the statue from the chamber, the opening was so small that it was found impossible to force the fragments through the entrance, and it took nearly eight hours to break away a sufficient

portion of the wall to admit of its being removed, so that the statue must have been placed there prior to the finishing of the mausoleum.

Some other fragments in granite and alabaster, found in these chambers, are also interesting, from their affording a higher idea of Egyptian sculpture than has been usually entertained; a closer attention being shown to the marking of the bones and muscles, without descending too much to particulars, than is generally apparent in Egyptian statues. A fragment of a leg is peculiarly noticed for a fulness in the parts and strictness of proportion, not unlike the school of Michael Angelo; while the alabaster remains are described, as far as finishing goes, as by no means inferior to the productions of even Grecian sculptors.

The next of these edifices, opened by Caviglia, was somewhat differently distributed from the former, but not inferior in the interesting nature of its decorations; the principal opening to its chambers is situated at the south-east corner. Over this entrance a line of hieroglyphics is carved, now much defaced, and on each side, as you enter, is sculptured a boat of large size, which differs, in having a square sail, from any now used on the Nile. The first apartment is small, but adorned with the usual paintings in bas-relief of

oxen, deer, and birds; men engaged in planning and preparing certain articles of furniture, hewing blocks of wood, and pressing out skins either of wine or oil. This chamber leads to a second larger than the former, the top of which is hollowed out in the form of an arch. In this apartment the figures and hieroglyphics are singularly interesting and beautiful: on the right is represented a quarrel between some boatmen, executed with great spirit; and a little farther on, a number of men engaged in the different pursuits of agriculture, ploughing, hoeing up the ground, bringing in their corn upon asses, storing it in the magazines, and other similar occupations.

On the west end are several vases, painted in the most brilliant colours; and on the south side a band of musicians, playing on the harp, flute, and a species of clarionet, together with a group of dancing women, tinged of a yellow colour, as is the case in most of the temples of Upper Egypt.*

* In general, the description given above of the ornamental parts of several of these edifices, corresponds with the admirable observations of Mr. Hamilton on the paintings, found in Upper Egypt, in the different tombs of private individuals, nobles, and sovereigns, which he had the opportunity of inspecting. Many of the subjects of these paintings are taken from the domestic life of the persons whose remains "these grottos" enshrine. Their agricul-

These form only the more remarkable designs executed in small linear compartments; besides these, a male and female figure, as large as life, without any symbols of divinity, appear presiding over the whole, and in all probability are intended as portraits (like the statues in the plain mausoleum) of the persons to whom this tomb was dedicated. Parallel to the above chamber lies another, nearly of the same dimensions, rudely cut out and unadorned; and to the westward of both is a small chamber transversely situated, with figures and hieroglyphics carved on its walls.

In a fifth chamber of this mausoleum, cleared out by Caviglia, there are also some hieroglyphics worthy of notice, from their being executed on a thick coat of white plaster, by means, as it would

tural operations, their modes of hunting, fishing, &c. are all represented on the walls, with a more or less degree of skill, according to the stations of life in which the parties respectively moved; and in some of the Royal tombs the good or evil actions of their inmates are depicted with a strictness and impartiality which shows the strong sense of retributive justice that must have been entertained by the Egyptians in those remote ages. In some instances (like those in the tombs about the Pyramids) the paintings and other ornaments have greatly suffered from time and accident, but in others they are in as perfect a state, and the colours as brilliant, as if they had just issued from the hands of the artist.—E.

appear, of a wooden stamp or mould: a practice which may perhaps serve as a hint to some ingenious European artisan to introduce, at a trifling expense, this simple yet elegant mode of ornamenting chambers. Besides those already noticed, many others of these edifices were cleared out and found to consist of similar apartments, varying in numbers and disposition, but ornamented generally with paintings and bas-reliefs, according, perhaps, to the wealth or caprice of those who erected them; one chamber in particular, from the delicacy of its colours, and its generally pleasing effect, seemed to merit peculiar attention. In all the mausoleums examined were found fragments of bitumen, quantities of mummy cloth, and a great number of human bones, so that there can remain no doubt of their having served the purpose of enshrining the dead.

In concluding the account of his researches among these dreary mansions, Mr. Salt proceeds to offer a few cursory remarks upon the peculiar specimens of sculpture-painting above described, which he thinks may fairly be considered as presenting the most ancient examples of art *in the world.* The objects, it appears, in which the artists seem to have best succeeded, are the animals and birds, several instances of which may be

pointed out, that are executed with a boldness of outline and an attention to nature, which evince a considerable progress in design. The human figures, it is true, are in general drawn sadly out of proportion, though the action is commonly just and often energetic. The colours, in many of the chambers, retain all their original freshness, and present an harmonious effect that is very grateful to the eye. In some of the chambers, Mr. Salt remained sometimes for hours, contemplating with peculiar delight the effects of this singular combination of bas-relief, and of colouring after life, which presents a species of *reality* that mere painting can with difficulty produce.*

A considerable portion of the pleasure derived from these paintings is undoubtedly attributable to the association of ideas arising from local circumstances connected with them; but let a man, if possible, divest himself of these feelings, and he must probably still allow that their simplicity, the highly-finished manner in which they are executed, the unbroken tints which are employed, the variety of the subjects delineated, and the occasional elegance of form, together with the in-

* This *reality* must I should imagine partake too much of the effect of coloured *wax-work*: the most disagreeable of all the efforts of art.—E.

finite variety of hieroglyphics used to fill up the designs, display a rich assemblage of ornament that renders this style of art particularly adapted to the embellishment of apartments.

The next undertaking of Caviglia was to examine the catacombs in the vicinity of the Pyramids. Those to the west of them do not appear to have possessed any peculiar interest; he and Mr. Salt entered some few, but found them too uninviting to induce them to prosecute their research; and though Captain Caviglia subsequently penetrated into one of the many labyrinthian passages observed, to the distance of three hundred feet, yet he met with nothing to compensate him for the attempt.

To the southward of the second pyramid some caves were met with, cut in the rock bounding the platform on which it stands, that appear worthy of notice. In several of them are traces of the painted-sculpture which once adorned the walls, and in most of them are mummy-pits, all emptied of their contents by the Arabs. In one of these caves was found a singular roof carved in imitation of layers of date trees, affording an additional proof that the Egyptians borrowed their ideas of architecture from the objects that surrounded them. Upon the rock, bounding the

northern side of the platform, are carved some remarkable hieroglyphics.

Another set of catacombs was also explored, the eastern chamber of which is commonly called the Sheik's residence. It is divided into several compartments, and on the walls are some curious pieces of sculpture, representing a party of musicians playing on different instruments, and a procession of deer and other animals, part of which are being led up an ascending plane to the presence of a figure as large as life. On the north side of the same apartment is carved the figure of an hippopotamus on the borders of a circle, which possibly once formed part of a zodiac; the sign Pisces still remaining, though all the rest of the wall has been destroyed. In a small interior chamber was found a granite sarcophagus, nearly buried in the sand, which, on its being excavated, proved to be without ornament.

Though the caves just described are only at a short distance from some others which were noticed, yet the two sets are so completely separated by the sands, that travellers frequently overlook either the one or the other in the course of their research. Several of the apartments in the last-mentioned catacombs are particularly interesting, on account of the figures sculptured on the walls,

witnessed the exertions and indefatigable perseverance he displayed in excavating this vast monument of antiquity.

The following account of the *general* appearance of the Sphinx, after it was denuded by Caviglia, is copied nearly verbatim from Mr. Salt's MS. memoir, written about the period when the excavation was completed. I shall not enter into particulars, but shall merely state those circumstances attending the enterprise itself which may serve to convey to the reader some notion of the enormous difficulties of the undertaking.

"This monument," says Mr. Salt, "so imposing in its aspect even in the mutilated state to which it has been reduced, has always excited the admiration of those who possessed knowledge enough of art to appreciate its merits; for though to an untutored eye, on a first glance, there remains so little of the features as scarcely to give more than a general idea of the human head, yet, after repeated and accurate observation, the several parts may be traced with sufficient clearness to afford a tolerably complete idea of its original perfection.

"The contemplative turn of the eye, the mild expression of the mouth, and the beautiful disposition of the drapery at the angle of the forehead,

plainly attest the admirable skill of the artist by whom it was executed. It is true that no very considerable share of attention is paid to those proportions we are accustomed to admire, nor does the pleasing impression which it produces result from any known rule adopted in its execution; on the contrary, the effect may be rather attributed to the unstudied simplicity of the conception, the breadth, yet high finish, of the several parts, and the stupendous magnitude of the whole.

"Such are the sentiments with which a repeated view of it has inspired me. At first, I confess I felt, like many other travellers, that the praises lavished upon it by Norden, Denon, and others, were exaggerated; but the more I studied it, at different hours of the day and under various effects of light and shade, the more I became convinced of their having barely done justice to its merits. It must be allowed, indeed, that the drawings by both the gentlemen abovementioned very faintly accord with their encomiums, the performances of both being of an indifferent description; but, after having repeatedly, and with little success, attempted to delineate the figure myself, I must admit that the difficulties of the undertaking are enough to baffle the efforts

of any one not professionally dedicated to the arts.

"Before I proceed, I must premise that the general impression made upon me by this monument was produced by a leisurely contemplation of it when laid open to its base, with the fragments of its beard resting beneath its chin, its paws stretched fifty feet in advance, with the temple, granite tablet, and altar, spread out on a regular platform in its front. These interesting objects, which no one for ages had had an opportunity of beholding, undoubtedly tended to exalt the whole monument in my estimation; and, in order that I may endeavour to convey to others a somewhat similar feeling, I shall now proceed to give an account of Captain Caviglia's discoveries."

From various reports in circulation in Egypt, it was understood that the French engineers, during their stay in that country, had made a considerable excavation in front of the Sphinx, and that they had just discovered a door at the time when they were compelled by untoward circumstances to suspend their operations. This account was repeatedly confirmed by the assertions of the Arabs, several of whom declared they had been present at the discovery, and said "it led into the

body of the Sphinx;" while others affirmed that "it conducted up to the second Pyramid." Though little stress could be laid upon such statements, yet they rendered Captain Caviglia very unwilling to relinquish his researches without, at least, doing everything in his power to ascertain the facts.

To this end he first began to open a deep trench on the left or northern side, opposite the shoulder of the statue; and though the sand was so loose that the wind drove back at night more than half of what he could remove in the day, yet he managed, by the aid of planks arranged so as to support the sides, to dig down to its base. As the trench was, however, not more than twenty feet across at the top, and not above three feet wide at the bottom, the situation of the workmen became evidently dangerous; since, if any large body of sand had fallen in, (and the planks were very weak,) it must have irrecoverably smothered those who were employed below; and in consequence it was found necessary to abandon this part of the attempt. By means of this trench, however, the height of the statue, from the top of the head to the base, was ascertained; and it was also found that the external surface of the body was composed of irregularly sized stones,

built up with much care and covered with red paint, with no very clear indications of the form, but having three protruding ledges, one below the other, and broad enough for a man to stand upon, which it is conjectured might be designed for the folds of the mantle or dress, and that they were added by the Romans.

The result of this first operation not proving satisfactory to Caviglia, determined him to undertake another excavation, on a larger scale, in front, which was accordingly begun early in March, and continued without intermission till the end of June, by which period, with the daily assistance of from sixty to a hundred labourers, he succeeded in laying open the whole figure to its base, with a clear area extending in front to more than a hundred feet, a distance to which it was judged necessary the excavation should be carried, in order to afford space enough for the shelving of the sand.

" It is scarcely possible," says Mr. Salt, " for any person unused to operations of this kind to form a notion of the difficulties which Captain Caviglia had to surmount when working at the depth of the base; for, in spite of all his precautions, the slightest breath of wind or concussion set all the surrounding particles of the sand in

motion, so that the sloping sides began to crumble away, and mass after mass to come tumbling down, till the whole moving surface bore no unapt resemblance to a cascade of water. Even when the sides appeared most firm, if the labourers suspended their work only for an hour, they found, on their return, that they had the greater part of their labour to do over again. This was particularly the case on the southern side of the right paw, where the whole of the people were employed for seven days without making any sensible advance."

While his laborious undertakings were still advancing, Captain Caviglia, in consequence of his exertions and too constant exposure to the sun, was unfortunately seized with an attack of ophthalmia, which compelled him to suspend his operations, and shortly afterwards he returned to take charge of his ship at Alexandria. These events, it is to be regretted, appear to have arrested the prosecution of all farther discovery in the interesting field for inquiry which had so recently been opened. The physical powers and mental energy which had hitherto triumphed over every obstacle could not readily be supplied by any other individual, and the sands rapidly reassuming their empire, again swallowed up,

perhaps for ever, the stupendous monument which the enterprising spirit of one man had just rescued from their dominion.

The expense incurred by all these operations amounted to about eighteen thousand piastres, a large share of which was furnished by Mr. Salt, and several other gentlemen, on the liberal condition that whatever antiquities might be discovered should be left to the sole disposal of Captain Caviglia, who, with a grateful feeling that reflects credit on his character, requested Mr. Salt to forward all the remains of value to the British Museum, as a testimony of his attachment to the English nation, under the protection of whose flag he had sailed for several years. Mr. Salt, in conclusion, very justly remarks, that "the unexampled circumstance that these operations were carried on by a single individual, attended only by one soldier, without the slightest molestation being offered, or unpleasant event occurring, notwithstanding that numerous parties of idle soldiers went every day to inspect his labours, and thousands of Arabs, during part of the time, were encamped in the neighbourhood, presents the most unequivocal proof of the tranquillity now reigning in Egypt, and does honour, at the same time, to the liberality of Mahomed Ali Pasha, who on

this occasion, as on many others, exerted himself to facilitate the researches carried on by Europeans connected with science."

In the peculiar circumstances in which I am placed, I have been precluded from dwelling on the variety of interesting remains discovered by Caviglia in the progress of his researches. These are, to a certain degree, detailed in an article in the Quarterly Review already noticed; but the documents with which its intelligent author was supplied, were of an inferior description to the *finished* memoir by Mr. Salt, which, with its accompanying illustrations, will I trust be yet laid before the public.*

* Mr. Salt's survey and drawings of the Pyramids, sepulchral "wells" and adjacent tombs, which illustrate his memoir, are, I am informed by Captain Mangles, who had good opportunities of ascertaining the fact, remarkable for the extraordinary fidelity and accuracy with which they are executed.—E.

CHAPTER V.

Salt invites Pearce to join him in Egypt. — His Letter to that effect.—Pearce sets out for Egypt.—Absence of Mr. Salt on his arrival.—Pearce embarks on the Nile in search of his master. — Mr. Salt attacked by illness in Upper Egypt.—His Letter from Cairo to the Author.—Interesting Epistles to Lord Mountnorris, Mrs. Morgan, and Mr. Hamilton, respecting Egyptian Antiquities. — Letters to Miss Halls and Sir Francis Darwin.

It has been before mentioned, that on his arrival in Egypt, Mr. Salt sent a letter to Pearce to acquaint him with his having entered on the Consular Office. This letter, and a box containing various serviceable articles, did not reach their destination till March 1817, when Pearce, in reply, informed the Consul of the death of the Ras Welled Selassé, and of the dreadful state of civil war in which that event had involved the province of Tigré, and indeed the whole of Abyssinia. On the receipt of this intelligence, Mr. Salt wrote the following letter to Pearce,

to invite him to join him in Egypt, with as little delay as possible.

" Cairo, June 29th, 1818.

" DEAR PEARCE,

" I have at last the pleasure of sending back Hadjee Said, who has been waiting patiently here for my despatches. On his arrival I was engaged in a voyage in Upper Egypt (Thebes), visiting the interesting antiquities that are to be found there. I have, since my return, not only received the packets sent by him, but all the others since forwarded, with the plants which you intended should come by way of Mocha, but which fortunately came by the nearer route of Jidda. I am also glad to inform you, that I believe the greater part of your other papers, sent at different periods through Mocha, have lately made their appearance, owing, I suppose, to its being known that I resided at Cairo. These various papers, I can assure you, contain all together a very curious and interesting collection of facts. It is surprising how much you improve every time I hear from you, both in *matter* and *writing*. Your journals are very clear and very amusing, and your account of the chieftains, Ozoros, &c. very characteristic and true. I feel no doubt, on your

return, of being able to make from them an excellent book, which will do you credit in the world, and be the means of putting some money in your pocket. * * *

"But now to the most essential point of your letter, that of your return. Nothing will give me greater pleasure than to see you in Egypt, where I have no doubt I can always find you employment. You must not expect to be a *gentleman;* but I can insure you a comfortable maintenance with *little* work, such as looking after my garden, or collecting antiques, which will be at least an employment for you; and if anything happens to me I have left you, *by will*, fifty pounds a-year for your life and that of your wife. Bring the latter over by all means; she will be useful here, if you can prevail on her to come. The time of your departure I leave entirely to you; but before you quit Abyssinia, make up a good collection of *plants* at least, and do not forget any information that you can acquire. * * *

"On the way down, enquire about an ancient road from *Halee* to Zoola among the Hazorta. Shum Hummar told me about a stone with an inscription, said to be somewhere near *Assuba*, the place where you came down when with the Ras. It would be of much consequence, if pos-

sible, to get a copy of this inscription. It would also be very interesting if you could visit Zoola, which lies on the coast near Hurtoo, opposite the island we called Valentia Island, as the ancient city of Adulis lay somewhere near that quarter, and some inscriptions might be found. I have written to the Kaimakan of Arkeeko, and have sent him some coffee cups, which may keep him in good humour; and you may assure him that, if he sends you safe to Egypt, I will forward him a present of a gun. Remember me kindly to Coffin, and send him a portion of the things I now consign to your care. * * * If he thinks of returning home, desire him to come by way of Egypt, where I shall be able to give him much assistance in getting to England. Old Hadjee Said appears to be a good kind of man, and I intrust him with a box and other things for you, together with *ninety* dollars, which I hope will supply your wants for the present. Your friend Werki also returns with him; I do not know exactly what success he has met with. Abyssinia appears to be in a sad state, and no hope, I fear, of an amendment.

" Remember me kindly to all friends who may be living, for a woeful number seem dead, and assure them I shall always strive to serve them.

"The Pasha here talks of conquering Abyssinia some day or other; but that *will never do;* for though bad Christians, that is better than being Mussulmans. Continue to write whenever you can, though I only mention this in case of your not quitting the country immediately; for if you should come away the week after receiving this letter I shall be equally pleased to see you. I send you an English passport, with my seal, though I believe you had one before, but in your troubles it may have been lost. * * * When you come away it will be right to bring the Abuna's letters, if he should have any, for the patriarch; and I hope that, long before this, you will have received *the letter for him,* it having been forwarded in October last.

"I am most happy to hear that your health is so much improved, and have no doubt it will be better when you have settled quietly in Egypt. * * * If, on your return, you should only be able to get to Cossier and not to Suez, you may easily reach me, as your passport will secure you anywhere in Egypt a good reception. Believe me your sincere friend,

"HENRY SALT."

"Mr. Nathaniel Pearce."

The above letter reached Pearce on the 25th of October 1818, and, with his usual promptitude and decision, he determined on setting out that very night for Egypt. Having communicated his intentions to his wife, who begged to accompany him, he set forward on his journey about an hour after dark, and reached Cairo on the 24th of January, 1819, having encountered considerable difficulties and perils on the route. On reaching Cairo, he found, to his no small disappointment, that Mr. Salt was absent on an excursion to Upper Egypt, in company with Mr. Bankes and several other gentlemen. He at first experienced some slight difficulty in gaining admission into the Consular House, from his not being able to make himself understood, as well as from his strange and uncouth appearance; fortunately for him, however, Mr. Jowett and Mr. Fuller were at the time residing in the house, by whom he was received with kindness. He had no sooner got comfortably settled than he began to feel impatient in the absence of his master (as he always termed Mr. Salt), and determined, at all events, to proceed up the Nile in search of him. This plan, however, it would not have been easy for him to have put in execution, had it not been for the kind offer of Mr. Jowett to give him a passage in

a canja which the former had hired to transport him up the Nile in the course of a few days.

Pearce had now great difficulty in persuading his wife (and a young Abyssinian girl, named Cullum, who had accompanied them in their journey,) to remain behind at Cairo, from the apprehension of being sold for slaves, or, at least, of being forced to eat meat that had been touched by Mahometans; but at length they were prevailed on to stay among the female servants of the house, and he set off with Mr. Jowett on the 6th of February. On their way, at a place called Aszarla, they met Mr. and Mrs. Belzoni coming down the Nile with the sarcophagus and other antiquities; their boat was immediately hailed by Mr. Jowett, and he and Pearce went on board. As soon as Mr. and Mrs. Belzoni learned the name of the latter, they treated him with the utmost attention and kindness.

Resuming his voyage with Mr. Jowett, he arrived at Esné on the 28th. With the mention of this place his journal abruptly concludes, and it is a little remarkable, perhaps, that in none of the letters or papers which have been placed in my hands, have I been able to find the slightest allusion to the time or place of his meeting with Mr. Salt. Probably it must have occurred in the course

of the passage, as Mr. Salt, soon after his arrival in Upper Egypt, was attacked by one of the dreadful fits of illness to which he was subject, and was forced to return without delay to Cairo; none of his companions, as I have been informed by one of the party, ever expecting to see him again alive. Contrary, however, to their forebodings, he recovered his health, after a severe struggle, in the course of some months; but it is evident from some of the following letters to different friends in England, that he himself imagined, at this period, that his dissolution was fast approaching.

"Cairo, May 7th, 1819.

"MY DEAR HALLS,

"I have great pleasure in introducing to your acquaintance my friend Mr. Briggs, who has long been at the head of the first mercantile establishment in Egypt. He is a gentleman of sound principles and highly liberal feelings, which I have had ample opportunities of knowing, from his having resided a good deal with me since I have been in this country. He has not many acquaintance in London, and being a bachelor would, I am sure, have great pleasure in partaking occasionally of the good cheer which your *snug* table affords. You will learn from him more about me

and my proceedings than you could from an hundred letters.† * * * I have great *sins* to answer for, with respect to your sisters, for whose kind and interesting letters I have been shamefully ungrateful, that is, in so far as not writing in return can be proof of ingratitude, for otherwise I am deeply sensible of the obligation

" For the last seven months, however, I have been travelling in Upper Egypt and Nubia, and latterly, for three months, have been seriously ill with a violent complaint that had well nigh carried me to the grave. I had, to confess the truth, serious thoughts, for some time, that my end was approaching; but, thank God, am now nearly recovered, which I chiefly owe to the adoption of flannel and to the meeting with a few bottles of good old port, which has brought me round again, and given me a prospect, at some distant time, of seeing once again my friends in England. Among these you and your family rank first, for I promise myself more happiness at your fireside than anywhere else in England. The want of society in

† I regret that I never had an opportunity of seeing the above gentleman. The letter reached me by the post, and he never called at my house. I made many enquiries after him, but learned that he resided chiefly out of town, I think at Mitcham. I was twice invited, by a common friend, to meet him at dinner, but he was unable to attend, and he left England for Egypt not long afterwards.—E.

Egypt, and the living pretty much alone, or with those I care nothing about, have rendered me a complete philosopher, not of the "*Rousseau school,*" as you may tell *Miss Mary,* but of that temperate sort of philosophy which makes me enjoy things as they come, with little regard to the future. * * *

"The Quarterly Review has at length, I see, done me justice with respect to our late Egyptian discoveries. I have, in my last journey, added much to my collection of drawings; having fagged hard, and having had the assistance of Mr. Beechey and a young man of the name of Linant, who draws well and faithfully. * * * Really there are temples in Egypt that give a stupendous idea of this singular people; but above all there is a gateway, or triumphal arch, as it might be called, at Thebes, which surpasses any thing that exists, or ever did exist of the kind. It would be admirably calculated for a monument of Victory, and representations of battles in bas-reliefs might be substituted for the figures making offerings to the gods, which embellish the two fronts.—Pray remember me most kindly to your sisters, to all of whom I will soon write, as well as to your brother.

"Your's, &c.

"To J. J. Halls, Esq." H. SALT."

FROM THE SAME TO WILLIAM HAMILTON, ESQ.

" Cairo, May 4th, 1819.

" My dear Sir,

" I take the liberty of introducing to you my friend Mr. Briggs, who was sharer with Caviglia and me in the work of the Pyramids. His long residence in Egypt, and great knowledge of the country, will enable him to give you any information you may wish to have respecting our affairs; and his great liberality of character, and anxiety to promote knowledge, will be the strongest recommendation I can give him to your notice. I have sent by him a very interesting piece of antiquity to England, which goes as a present from the Pasha to Sir Sydney Smith. It is a plate of gold, inscribed with a dedication to Osiris of the great temple at Canopus by one of the Ptolemies: it was found over the side column of the gateway, between two singular pieces of coloured earthenware. If he should not have delivered it before he gets to England, he will, I am sure, have a pleasure in showing it to you.

" I have not yet received the last Quarterly Review; but I am in hopes, from the list of contents which I have met with in a newspaper, that they have complied with the wish I expressed in

a letter to them, and done justice to Caviglia. Belzoni has, I observe, made himself very conspicuous by taking to himself *all* the merit of the late discoveries. A great deal is undoubtedly due to him; but all this will find its proper level. * * * There has been lately a grand fracas between him and Drovetti's agents, the former having been attacked by them at Karnac, with an intent, as he has declared in an affidavit, to take away his life. He wrote to me officially on the matter, and I ordered affidavits to be taken and laid before the French Consul-General. This has put Drovetti in a raging passion, he being in some degree implicated in the cause. When the affair is terminated I will forward you a copy of the whole proceedings. It is not very likely that Belzoni will get much redress here, as Consular Courts are bad tribunals for criminal cases; but a publication of the proceedings may amply revenge him on the perpetrators of this outrage.

"Mr. Briggs will communicate to you a plan he has thought of, to get home the obelisk that was once ready for embarkation. As far as getting the Pasha's consent, I think I could manage *that*. The expense otherwise would be no great matter, if an old ship were given by government, and might, I should think, be easily raised by

private subscription. Pray give the matter your consideration. * * * I see you have been getting on *very* fast in explaining the hieroglyphics, if faith is to be put in the vocabulary of Dr. Young. One fact he will have a pleasure in learning; at Dekki, in Nubia, there is an inscription of the Ptolemies, *over* the principal entrance, which occupies a place evidently connected with the architecture, and on each side of this is a table of hieroglyphics, nearly similar one to the other. Now it struck me, on the spot, that these being nearly of the same length as the Greek tablet, might possibly contain a translation; I therefore referred to a letter in Mr. Bankes's possession, containing some fifty explanations of hieroglyphics from Dr. Young, and was certainly gratified to find that in the oval, conspicuous on each side, was the name of the "immortal Ptolemy," and immediately afterwards the name of Hermes on one side, and of Isis on the other, to whom, from numerous Greek inscriptions, &c. &c. it is certain the temple was dedicated.

"In following up this idea I found, in other parts of the temple, the name of Ptolemy, without the "immortal," over offering figures; and also those hieroglyphics which the Doctor sup-

poses to represent the names of Osiris, Isis, and Horus, as well as Hermes, over their respective figures invariably, I may say, throughout the numerous representations on the walls. If this should be thought to afford sufficient proof of the hieroglyphics in question, signifying Ptolemy, then the number of temples, built before their dynasty reigned, will be reduced to a very few in number, and Edfou, Esne, Dendera, and Philoe, Ernaut, &c. will all fall into the Ptolemaic period.* I rather think *you* have all along suspected this.

"Notwithstanding this confirmation, however, of part of Doctor Young's system, I wish he would be somewhat more cautious in his advances. A specific reason should be given for every step, and even his own *doubts* should be communicated bonâ fide as well as his *conjectures*, otherwise the world will rank his works with those of Palin and Kircher. All the drawings made to illustrate the above observations will be sent home with Mr. Bankes. I have just time to notice a few of our more valuable discoveries this voyage. A complete plan of a garden and country-house, represented to be on the Banks of the Nile: found by

* "There seems to be no better proof of great antiquity than the representation of chariots and battle scenes, which appear to be peculiar to the more remote ages."

me in a private tomb at Thebes. A discovery by Mr. Bankes that the city, as you term it, on the walls of the Memnonium and at Luxor, is a camp, the walls of which are made with soldier's shields: this he has clearly made out. The representation of a bat, at Beni Hassan, found by Mr. Bankes. An inscription found by me at Kalapsche, set up by βασιλισκος Σιλκω, chief of the Νουβαδων, who is, no doubt, the same person to whom Dioclesian made over the war against the Blemmyes, as recorded by Procopius. Another inscription, in the time of Psammitichus, spelt in the inscription ΨAMMATIXOI (in the dative), on the leg of one of the Colossi at Ipsambul, which appears to have been engraven when the temple was already incumbered with sand;—and another in the time of Psammitus, or, as I conceive, Psammis, with many names written by the elephant and bird hunters employed by the Ptolemies. The inscription in Psammeticus's time is peculiarly valuable on this temple, as it contains the finest specimens both of design, painting, and sculpture, now existing, either in Nubia or Egypt.

"We stayed a month there excavating at our joint expense, and were well rewarded by the discovery and the drawings we have brought away.

We opened also the interior chambers of the temple at Seboa, which had escaped all other travellers, and discovered there some of the sacred boats, with their colours entire, which was a desideratum. Perhaps I mention what I may have communicated in former letters, but my late severe illness makes me forget what I wrote. I fear Dr. Young is rather offended at me, but it is without reason; I did not write to him, because I had nothing satisfactory to communicate. With respect to the other fragments of the Rosetta stone, I took great pains, and went to some expense, in searching for them; but found nothing of the kind, neither at the house of the Institute, Fort Julian, nor in the neighbourhood of Tiranè, where there was said to be a stone with mixed characters on it.

"I should wish to be a subscriber to your new society for the hieroglyphics, and will endeavour to assist you. Your first step should be to have a complete and well-drawn set of hieroglyphics, which I think I could get done for you at no great expense. I also think you should resolve not to publish any thing that has heretofore been done, as I never yet have seen one tablet of hieroglyphics accurately copied, except a few in the

French work. There are many other suggestions I could make if I had *all* you have done. * * *

"Your obliged and faithful,

HENRY SALT."

"To William Hamilton, Esq."

FROM THE SAME TO THE EARL OF MOUNTNORRIS.

"Cairo, May 7th, 1819.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"This letter is forwarded home by my friend Mr. Briggs, and is merely written to acknowledge your last kind and obliging letter, which afforded me great pleasure. * * * You will hear with pleasure that Pearce has safely arrived, well in health, but sadly disfigured, poor fellow! by his disease. * * * I am just returned from Nubia, where I had a delightful expedition with Mr. Bankes, but was unfortunately so ill during the latter part of it as to have serious thoughts of another world, which, however, as you know, never alarms me. It is well to play a respectable part in life, but whether that part extend to a third, fourth, or fifth act, it little matters.

"I cannot conclude without telling you that Mr. Bankes and I have discovered, on the leg of one of the colossi in front of the temple of Ipsambul, a Greek inscription written in the time of

Psammeticus: it is not in itself interesting, but is very valuable as it shows at least that the temple must have been built before that remote period. On the same statue are the names of the elephant and ostrich hunters sent up by the Ptolemies; and on another colossus is a short inscription, which we think to be of the time of Psammis, then called *Psammeticus*, who died in an expedition in Nubia. * * * I can send nothing at present, on account of the plague, being shut up in strict quarantine, which, however, I rather prefer to being at large in *Cairo*.

"Yours most truly,

H. SALT."

FROM THE SAME TO MRS. MORGAN.

"Cairo, May 22nd, 1819.

"MY DEAR BESSY,

"After writing my last in October, to which I have received no answer, I set out with Mr. Bankes and the Baron Sack, chamberlain to the King of Prussia, who came here strongly recommended to me by Government. We had each a separate boat, and one in common for cooking and the servants. Besides ourselves, Mr. Beechey, my secretary, a Mr. Ricci, a medical man, who both draw well, and a young French gentleman,

Monsieur Linant, whom I engaged as an artist, were of our party. As our objects were the same, to examine the antiquities and make sketches of them, nothing could agree better nor prove more agreeable. We stayed at each ruin from three to ten days, and at one, which is the most interesting in Nubia, the Temple of Ipsambul, upwards of a month.

"During this time we were not only engaged in taking drawings of these magnificent remains, but we also cleared one of the colossi in front of the sand down to its base, when we found it, though sitting, to measure sixty-two feet in height: you may easily, therefore, conceive how grand the whole excavation must have been when first completed, as there are no less than four of these immense figures in front. This is the temple that was opened for me two years ago. Its inside is perhaps more interesting than its exterior, containing a splendid suite of apartments, the walls of which are painted with historical designs in the most brilliant colours. Among the rest, a hero returning from battle, in his chariot, larger than life; the horses proudly marching, and dressed in the gayest trappings, that seem to have been made of the finest green leather, intermixed with stripes of leopards' skins,

their foreheads adorned with plumes of feathers, set on a sort of crest formed of four busts of lions gilt; the reins, check-rein, hood-winkers, tassels to keep off the flies, exactly the same as those now in use, but ornamented in the most costly style; the body-cloth striped longitudinally, and of the gaudiest colours, with silk tassels; and the chariot itself one of the most elegant and highly-finished pieces of work that can be well imagined, inlaid, as it would appear by the colouring, with ebony, gold, and ivory; the wheels light, and of bronze externally, being as well fitted together, with only four spokes, as the renowned Mr. Holmes himself could have constructed.

"I must not omit to mention that the hero who drives holds the reins in the most fashionable—that is to say, the most easy and natural way imaginable, and has, besides, all the gallant demeanour of a sovereign. In front of him are seen the unfortunate prisoners, tied barbarously together and dragged along by the soldiers, who carry their bows and arrows in their hands, and their sandals on their left arm. Some of the prisoners are brown, probably Nubians, and some negroes, whose countenances strongly express sullen stubbornness, agony, and even a desire of revenge. All these are executed in the first style of

Egyptian art, being first sculptured on the walls and then painted. * * * * From this excursion I was obliged to return in March last, owing to business at Cairo and a violent attack of illness, which much reduced me, and made it absolutely necessary for me to change the air.

"I have since, thank God! nearly recovered, but am now shut up in quarantine, on account of the plague, which has this year committed considerable ravage throughout the country. In our quarantine, however, there is nothing very unpleasant, now that I have a large house and a garden: the latter, it is true, is small, but is filled with shady trees that render it, morning and evening, a delightful retreat. I have in my house, also, an agreeable society, consisting of the Baron Sack, Mr. Fuller, and the Rev. Mr. Jowett, who will, however, shortly take his departure for Syria, by which time I expect that Mr. Bankes and Mr. Beechey, whom I left in the upper provinces, will be coming down.

"Of all the men I have ever met with, I consider the former as being gifted with the most extraordinary talents; born to family and fortune, he has dedicated his whole time to learning and the arts, possessing a fund of anecdote and good humour,

which renders his society the most agreeable and entertaining that can be conceived.

"I send a letter for the Dean by this conveyance; you know perfectly well my high esteem for him and the amiable members of his family. * * * I get the Lichfield papers very regularly, and see all your news; but I do not think much change has taken place, except that there appears a little more spirit in the gay world in your balls and your concerts; your races, too, seem to go off with greater eclat, and your play-house to fill better than it used to do. I think you owe much obligation, (*we*, I should say, for I am a true Lichfieldian,) to the editor of the paper, who takes a commendable pride in bringing forward everything which can redound to the credit of the old and beloved city. Remember me kindly to Jane and to Mr. Morgan, and believe me to be, my dear sister,

"Most affectionately yours,

H. SALT."

"P.S. Kindest remembrance to all Lichfield friends. I should like much to spend the three next months, *which will be burning hot here*, at Lichfield. Pray let me hear from you soon, and

from Jane too—*a little gypsy*, I suppose she has forgotten me."

FROM THE SAME TO MISS HALLS.

"Cairo, May 22nd, 1819.

"DEAR MARY,

"Though it is a long time since I wrote to you, owing to my having been engaged in a journey through the upper country, yet I hope you feel assured that my silence has not proceeded from any diminution of affection towards my best friends. I am often present with you, as St. Paul says, *in spirit*, and delight in imagining myself a member of your fireside coteries in Marlborough Street, with John just descending from his painting-room *to humanise*, Elizabeth brightening into a smile, and you yourself, though rather grave before dinner, gradually taking an interest in the conversation, and enlightening it with your keen remarks; while *Brother Tom*, as the cloth is just taken away, comes in rather warm, and protesting he did not think it had been so late. Sometimes, too, I suppose your party enlivened with the presence of *old Rose** and *Sam*,† and

* The late Thomas Rose, Esq. of the Coldstream regiment of guards.

† S. D. Broughton, Esq., of the 2nd Life Guards.

occasionally graced with the society of the fair lady from Bedford Square and her agreeable spouse, with the *delightful addition* of a little infantile *music* from the adjacent chamber; and I cannot help fancying I hear you sometimes say, 'Now we want nothing but the *Bad Shilling* to make our party complete.'

"Such delights as these, which after all form the chief charm of existence, are utterly unknown in this blessed land, where neither morning nor evening is ever ushered in with the glad countenance of a friend, but all is outward courtesy, too generally and too justly mingled with contempt for one's company. At present, however, the plague keeps out a great number of our 'enemies,' for that designation will much better suit the generality of our acquaintance than that of friends.

"By the by, to change an unpleasant subject, I hope you have been interested by the article on Egypt in the last Quarterly Review. It will have the effect, I trust, of putting our discoveries in a proper light, and of rendering justice to my worthy friend Caviglia; it also sets Mr. Belzoni's too exalted pretensions in their true light, and has given a very wholesome rebuke to the boasting vanity of our neighbours at Paris.

* * * * * Pray remember me kindly to all friends. Believe me to be, with great sincerity,

"Your affectionate friend
And *uncle*, (I had almost forgot,)
H. SALT."

"To Miss Halls."

"P.S. Sam Broughton has lately roused himself, and given me a delightful epistle, full of old saws as usual, and personifying everything he touches upon."

FROM HENRY SALT, ESQ. TO MRS. H—N.

"Cairo, October 13th, 1818.

"MY DEAR MRS. H—N.

"Your letter, which arrived only a short time ago, gave me a degree of pleasure I cannot pretend to describe, as it brought you full before me, with your little family, your little comforts, and your occupations, so as to make me often feel, since its perusal, as if present with your party, witnessing the agreeable scene of domestic harmony, and making myself happy in so rare and blessed a sight. That there should have been found any man who could have *wilfully* rendered you unhappy I can scarcely believe; but there are thousands who, by their perversity of temper, or irregularity of conduct, would have

made you, who are not born for contention, completely miserable. It is therefore a great piece of good fortune that you have met with one in every way so well calculated to insure your peace of mind, and with that you may safely laugh at the world and all its petty contrarieties, that is to say, possessing the other *one* thing needful, a moderate income, sufficient to provide for the '*boiling of the pot.*' I am glad to hear that the dear little girl, your first-born, is not a *beauty;* let her be interesting, and of as sweet a disposition as her mother, and she will have to boast two qualities more precious than pretty features, or a *regular nose;* though I confess, for the last article, I should have been glad to hear that it had proved a little more beautiful in its proportions. Remember, however, that by *pinching* you may elongate it; by making the child *sleep on its face* you may *snub* it, if I may be permitted to use so elegant an expression, and if it be *twisted* on either side, you may, by teaching it the amiable habit of pushing it on one side, with its little hands, left or right as occasion may require, in some degree correct nature. Now, had it been a *squinting* eye, or a mouth *awry,* or one leg shorter than the other, the remedy might not be so immediately at hand. *Grace à Dieu* that the little

miss, the pride of her house, is exempt from all such serious calamities. Of your next I long to have an account, and hope sincerely it may prove a boy. I feel much delighted, I assure you, with your thinking of me as a godfather on a future occasion, and hope you will let the young stranger be named Henry if a boy, or Katharine if a girl, a name, on several accounts, very dear to me from recollections of a sister, and *another person* long dead. * * * *

"As to my return to England, the period appears to me every day more remote. Since the settlement of the Ionian Islands I have had so much business that I could not, with propriety, be long absent from my post. Thank God, during the last summer my health has been so good that I feel more reconciled to the country; for, taking out of consideration June, July and August, nothing can be finer than the climate which we enjoy. By the by, before I proceed farther, I must, in *return* for the notice of your *little one*, inform you of a surprising wonder which has lately occurred in Egypt: nothing less than the appearance of an hippopotamus, which was killed in the neighbourhood of Damietta. It measured eleven feet odd, and when alive was as plump, and smooth, and round, as a *little Og*, and much

of the same shape too, I mean a *real* little *grunter*, and not very different in colour either, standing not above four feet high, on stumpy legs, that move like those great battering machines, which you sometimes see the paviors use in the well-organised streets of the metropolis. We have also been astonished this year with an extraordinary inundation of the Nile, which has carried away whole villages, and destroyed the crop of Indian corn.

"I went the other day to the Pyramids in a boat, over fields that had been lately cultivated; and as we passed the villages it was truly distressing to hear the cries of the inhabitants calling out for assistance, not being able to move their household furniture for want of boats, while the date-trees stood like reeds with their tops out of the water, casting with every breath of wind their ripe fruit to the waves.

"You cannot conceive the pleasure I enjoy in visiting and sketching the noble remains of antiquity which abound in Egypt. By carrying one's mind back to periods so remote, it seems to lengthen out our own existence. I have now indeed become so well acquainted with its ancient inhabitants, their usages, and customs, that when I return to Europe, I shall not be able to consider

the whole scene as otherwise than a modern pantomime. 'Better this,' your sister will say, 'than live among mummies.'

Your news, respecting our old acquaintances, was not very different from what I expected. As far as regards the C——es it gave me sincere satisfaction, as nothing in this world can supply the place of those who have been valued by us in our youth—it is one of the strongest ties by which mankind are linked together. Of so many who begin the same course, so few survive, that we become more and more necessary to each other's happiness, as there is no one among our newer associates with whom we can call up the thousand agreeable circumstances that must always be connected with our early days. Pray remember me most kindly to your husband, whose acquaintance I shall have great pleasure in renewing, and believe me to remain

"Your affectionate friend,

HENRY SALT."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME, INCLOSED IN THE PRECEDING.

"Cairo, May 22, 1819.

"Such was the letter which I wrote to you before my departure for Upper Egypt, but the

original being too bad a scrawl to send, I took it with me to copy and forward by the first packet sent down. Somehow or other, as always happens with procrastinating people, this moment never arrived, and so I came back without having done what I had intended; full of shame, as I now ingenuously confess myself, for my fault, and hoping that you will in your goodness pardon the same, on my promising never to sin in the like manner any more; but you have the best security imaginable for my future good behaviour, as I have already been severely punished in not having received, as I might have done before this, another letter from you.

"The first part of my journey was most delightful, the party consisting only of very *pleasant* and *agreeable people:* Mr. Bankes, a traveller who has much distinguished himself by his researches in Syria; Baron Sack, an old Prussian nobleman, fond of natural history; Mr. Beechey; Mr. Ricci, a young surgeon; Mr. Linant, an artist, whom I had engaged to accompany me, and *myself.* Mr. Bankes is one of the most delightful companions I ever met with, high-bred, well informed, and possessing an inexhaustible fund of humour; the Baron Sack full of little anecdotes, such as Halls delights in,

of armadilloes, flamingoes, field mice, and monstrous snakes, which he had collected in the course of a long residence at Surinam; withal very credulous, and permitting himself to have a goose's egg foisted upon him for a crocodile's, yet infinitely amusing and *good-humoured;* the third, a traveller, still fond of gibes and merriment, and now and then, when conversation slacked, introducing an *Abyssinian* story to while away the hour; while the *secondary* planets were content to shine in their respective spheres, and looked up with *all due* deference to the more *brilliant luminaries.* All but the baron, who was chiefly engaged in killing frogs, snakes, beetles, and such like game, were enthusiastically fond of the arts, and really vied with each other who should produce the best sketches; being generally occupied *hard at it,* which *John* will explain, from nine o'clock in the morning till dark.

"But such is the infinite variety of matter to be found at all the principal ruins, that our curiosity was never sated, and almost every day brought us a new discovery. Now it was the plan of a garden, painted without perspective, but showing all the walks, trees, flowers, vineyards, and even little ponds, that delighted us.

Then a procession, coming from the interior of Africa, with leopards, lions, cameleopards, and blue monkeys sitting on their backs, that were led by negroes, bearing on their shoulders elephants' teeth and sandal wood, that enchanted us; and at other times we were seen running after the representation of a chase, executed with unwonted spirit; a set of dancers, playing on the tambourine, flute, and harp: a couple of learned clerks, with their pens behind their ear; or perhaps the less important designs of some curious species of dog, deer, tortoise, or bat.

"Such were our occupations from October to February; moving, from temple to temple as inclination prompted us; living during the whole time on board our boats, in a *frugal* way, as necessity, in Nubia at least, compelled us, and in the enjoyment of one of the finest climates the world can boast. About the middle of February however, from some accidental cause, my health began to fail, and early in March I was obliged to quit the party and return to Cairo. Though I suffered much in this last illness, I am glad to say my health is now perfectly re-established. The plague, however, raging in Cairo, we are at present shut up in strict quarantine, but the punishment is not very serious, as I have a large

house, and a pleasant garden, and full occupation for the summer. Pray remember me most kindly to your husband, John, Tom, and your sisters; and with heartfelt wishes for your continued happiness, believe me,

" Your very affectionate friend,

HENRY SALT."

FROM THE SAME TO SIR FRANCIS DARWIN.

" Cairo, June 2nd, 1819.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" I am quite ashamed that I should not have been able to send you, before this, the crocodile and other things which I promised, but the truth is, that I had procured you a noble specimen of the former at Thebes, stuffed and ready prepared, when it was attacked by the vultures, which completely destroyed it, having eat away the tail and all the soft part of the belly and legs. You must not however despair; I have given orders for another, and expect it soon down, when I will pack it up, with a few mummies of animals, &c. for your museum. I am truly sorry to hear that you have entertained thoughts of quitting our beloved city; surely you will nowhere find a better society, or truer friends than at Lichfield. I wish my lot had

been like your own, to enjoy a quiet home in one of the most delightful places on the earth, endeared to me by so many early recollections. I sometimes feel afraid of the Swiss malady, when my thoughts forcibly recur to the 'happy valley,' for certainly it deserves more that appellation than any spot in the country where Johnson has laid the scene of his Rasselas.

"You will be glad to hear that my protegé Pearce has returned safe from Abyssinia with his spouse, who are now residing together with me at Cairo. He has completely adopted the character of a feudal follower—whatever I command he is ready to execute; but nothing can induce him to express a wish of his own, his only answer to any proposition made by the travellers here, being, 'If Mr. Salt wishes it, well and good; if not, I can't think of it,' or some such downright phrase.

"The journals and observations he has collected form a very interesting mass of materials for a volume on Abyssinia; and I purpose, at my leisure, giving it the necessary arrangement, with a determination, however, of sticking as closely as possible not only to his matter but to his style, which is astonishingly clear, nervous, and original. * * * * At this moment I write to you out of

quarantine, the plague having spread this year over a great part of Egypt, though not with much malignity, one-third of those attacked having, I think, escaped.

"The confinement has been rather irksome, but is expected soon to end, when St. John shall shower down his heavenly dew over the city. This annual miracle, which seems well attested and universally believed, can only be attributed to the intenseness of the heat, which invariably sets in about the middle of June; so that it is only getting rid of one plague for another, nothing being more oppressive than the latter end of June, as well as the months of July and August. Alexandria, Rosetta, and Damietta, are not blessed with the same assuaging influence, which may be owing to the proximity of the sea and the consequent moisture of the atmosphere.

"The chief amusement of my neighbours during the quarantine is in flying kites from the terraces of their houses, in which diversion they particularly excell, especially one Greek not far from me, who sends up three kites, one above the other, attached to the same string, which enables the third, or more distant one, to soar an almost inconceivable height—as high as the flight of the eagle above his competitors. Another facetious

gentleman sends up every evening a dancing puppet of the size of a man, which cuts a thousand capers in the air, and sometimes even practises a somerset, to the great delight of the admiring spectators. You, who know something of the Levantine character, may easily conceive how difficult they must find it to pass the time when debarred from the dear delights of visiting, gossiping, and scandal; for, luckily, so few can write, that they cannot, as in England, pour forth their venom through the pen.

"Remember me most kindly to all our friends, and believe me Most sincerely yours,

H. SALT."

FROM THE SAME TO WILLIAM HAMILTON, ESQ.

"Cairo, July 1st, 1819.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have just received the inclosed from Mr. Bankes, which I forward, and request you will see to its delivery. You will be glad to hear that he has returned safe to Thebes, after having re-examined every ruin on his way down, which has added considerably to this year's discoveries. Three new chambers in the great temple at Philoe. The discovery of an inscription of the time of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, on an altar which has been

built into the lower part of the wall of the long colonnade next the water as a part of the materials, and which proves the whole building posterior to that reign, and probably to their dynasty.

" On coming down, I found, myself, an inscription of Ptolemy Philopater under the painting and plaster, but posterior to the sculpture on the first propylon in front of the great temple at Philoe. Mr. Bankes has since discovered seven or eight of the same period that had also been hid by the plaster; and one besides bearing date under the Cæsars, which proves the last painting, the colours of which are as usual vivid, to be of a late date; while on the wings, or side-moles of the same propylon, we have secured proofs that the sculpture was done after the time of Tiberius; and, if Dr. Young be right about the names, the granite tablet in the court, which has a small temple built over it, is not later than the Ptolemies.

" Mr. Bankes has also found, on the little temple near Esné, proofs that the sculpture and hieroglyphics were executed in the reign of Antonine, and that they were dedicated by persons with Greek names. Every new discovery, in fact, confirms your first supposition of the value

of the Greek and Latin inscriptions, and shows plainly that the greater part of the temples now standing are of late date. We have still the gratification of knowing that this derogates nothing from the great merit of the Egyptian artists, since the most ancient buildings which remain are undoubtedly superior in every point of view. Our inscription at Ipsambul, in the reign of Psammeticus, now becomes invaluable, giving us a most exact standard of the more ancient style.

"Mr. Bankes, in addition to what we have accomplished when together, has since made out, with a new contrivance for giving light within the temple, the complete historical design on the northern wall, in which, besides fortresses, chariots, &c. he has found three horsemen mounted without saddles, but with regular bridles, and a car with a sort of umbrella to it. * * * * * * I have been fortunate enough to find a gentleman who has undertaken to copy a most interesting paper of Burkhardt's on Egypt, which I was most unwilling to send home without retaining a duplicate: as soon as it is finished, I will send his papers. Besides this, I do not think there is anything you have not received. I will send my sketch or portrait of him at the same time, and

some particulars collected, from various quarters, of his private life. " Yours most truly,

H. SALT."

" To William Hamilton, Esq."

" P.S. I am truly obliged by your sending me the resolutions of the Raleigh Club, of which I shall be most happy to become a member, and I enclose a check for my first subscription."

CHAPTER VI.

Pearce acts as Major Domo in the Consular House during Mr. Salt's absence.—His estimate of the former's services.—Salt's Letter to Pearce announcing his approaching Marriage.—Some account of the chosen Lady.—Suddenness of the match.—Reflections.—Salt's impaired Constitution.—His Wife's unremitting tenderness and attention during his repeated illness.—Further Letters to Pearce.—Death of Pearce.—Particulars respecting his decease and burial.—Salt's Letters to his Friends in England respecting Pearce.—Salt applies for leave of absence, which is granted by Lord Castlereagh.—Letters on the subject from the Right Honourable Charles Yorke, and the Earl of Morton, to Lord Mountnorris.

ON the arrival of Mr. Salt at Cairo after his return from his expedition into Nubia, Pearce and his family became domiciliated in the Consular House. In the occasional absence of the Consul, he appears to have acted as a species of superintendent, or *major domo*, in the establishment, and in that capacity seems to have discharged the duties of his office with the scrupulous fidelity of a disinterested servant and an attached and grateful friend. The following

letter to him from Mr. Salt shows the favourable opinion the latter entertained of his management, and the confidence he reposed in him when absent.

" Alexandria, Sept. 1st, 1819.

" DEAR PEARCE,

" I have had such an attack of ophthalmia, that I am not able to write myself, and have therefore requested Mr. Beechey to be my amanuensis on this occasion. I am sorry that you did not apply to Mr. Walmass for money, as I mentioned to you in my last, and that in consequence you have been put to some inconvenience, but hope this letter will arrive in time to set all to rights. I send you inclosed a draft for a thousand piastres, which you can take up, as circumstances may require, from Mr. Walmass. I suppose, by your having reduced yourself to three, and *even to two piastres a day*, that you have some intention of following up the system of the Frenchman with his horse, who had just brought it to live upon one oat a day, when it died. If you have particular pleasure in this, it is all very well; but I shall feel perfectly satisfied if you do not exceed two hundred piastres a month, which is the sum I mean to allot you for your household expenses. I suppose Turinga, (Pearce's wife,) on your late plan,

does not by this time weigh more than ten pounds, and Cullum not more than five. As for yourself, I imagine, what with starving and medicine, that you are reduced to a reasonable size; but at least you ought, though it may agree with you, to have some compassion on the women.

"I am truly obliged to you for your activity and attention in my concerns, and am glad to hear you have gotten rid of Giuseppe. I supposed that Louisa would be sorry to leave the house; but, though she is quiet and has many good qualities, she is better away. You need not trouble yourself to write me anything about the accounts, but keep them till I return, as I have full dependence upon you. * * * I am truly glad to find that you have received so satisfactory a letter from your brother, and think you perfectly right in determining to pay a visit to England: we must work hard, therefore, at the journal, and when it is finished I hope, in the course of next year, to be able to provide for the expenses of your journey. Remember me kindly to Turinga, and believe me

"Very truly yours,

H. SALT."

"Mr. Nathaniel Pearce, Cairo."

"P.S. When Mr. Bankes goes away, if Dr.

Ricci should like to have his room, I have told him he may occupy it. Your answer about Tombuctoo is perfectly satisfactory, and I will send it to the Malta Gazette.—H. S."

The first use which my friend Salt appears to have made of the recovery of his eyesight, was to direct his attentions to a young lady whom he had accidentally met with during his stay at Alexandria. The courtship must have been of very short duration, as the expected event was announced to Pearce in the annexed letter, scarcely more than a fortnight after the date of the preceding.

"Alexandria, September 19, 1819.

"My dear Pearce,

"You will not be a little surprised, I dare say, to hear that I am on the point of being *married* to a young and very amiable lady: the ceremony is likely to take place in about ten days, after which I shall probably remain another fortnight previously to my returning to Cairo. I hope you will be good enough to do all you can with respect to having the house, and especially the garden, in order. Many alterations will be want-

ing on my arrival; but I hope to arrange every thing comfortably without much change.

"Your's most truly,

H. SALT."

"Mr. Nathaniel Pearce, Cairo."

The young lady upon whom Mr. Salt had now fixed his affections, was about sixteen years of age; was, I am told, exceedingly pretty and amiable, and made a most devotedly attached wife. She was the daughter of a Mr. Pensa, a respectable merchant of Leghorn, and had come with her father, mother, and a younger sister, to Alexandria, the former having some mercantile affairs to arrange in that city. I have before mentioned that she bore, in Salt's opinion, a marked resemblance to a lady to whom he had been attached a few years previously; there were also some interesting circumstances connected with Miss Pensa's history, which appear to have seized on the imagination and romantic turn of Mr. Salt's mind, and to have greatly influenced his apparently hasty decision.

He had grown weary of the lonely life he had for several years experienced in Egypt, without any object to interest the naturally strong affec-

tions of his heart, and it is not therefore to be wondered at, that he took advantage of the first favourable opportunity of entering into a state which, even in his youthful days, he had always considered as affording the best chance for earthly happiness. The want of accomplished female society in Egypt is one of the most serious evils that afflicts that demoralised and profligate country; and the few European women who occasionally visit its shores, come and go like birds of passage; so that, when a fair occasion of this nature offers, a man must, like Salt, be sudden in his proceedings and determination, or the prize will surely elude his grasp.

But however precipitately, according to our English notions, the match of my friend was accomplished, it appears nevertheless to have been productive of a degree of happiness to both parties, in spite of the unlooked for afflictions that clouded their union, which is perhaps too seldom the result of more matured engagements. I have recently been informed by Mrs. Lee, the widow of the late Consul in Alexandria, who was intimate with both the parties, that as far as depended on themselves, there never existed a happier marriage, or a more devotedly attached couple, during the few years it was permitted them to enjoy the

society of each other. The hastiness with which the match had been brought about did not, as perhaps might have been expected, altogether escape animadversion; but after all, a man ought to be left in these matters to his own discretion: indeed I have generally observed, that those who are loudest in their censures on such occasions, are commonly the first to follow the example which they so strenuously deprecate.

In the instance in question, I know only of one circumstance that rendered the marriage injudicious—the melancholy and evidently declining state of Mr. Salt's health: of this he was probably, himself, not *fully* aware at the time, for though his constitution had received many severe shocks, yet he had hitherto, after a time, so *completely* recovered from their effects, that I believe he began to consider the attacks as merely temporary evils that were not likely to shorten materially the duration of his life.

He was soon, alas! to be fatally undeceived, though he ultimately survived his wife several years. At the time of his union with her (probably about the end of October 1819,) he must have turned, only by a few months, his thirty-eighth year, and was still at intervals, for one who had been for some time resident in Egypt,

a fine-looking hale man, and capable of partaking in all the enjoyments of life; but an insidious and fatal internal disease, which seems never even to have been suspected by his foreign medical advisers, was secretly preying upon a frame that, in other respects, appeared built for longevity. On the very day of his *wedding* he was again laid up, for the second time within the year, by the most frightful attack he had ever before experienced from his malady, and which brought him to the verge of the grave.*

In this deplorable condition, an immediate change of air was recommended, and he set out by sea to Cairo, but was driven back to Aboukir, where he was detained till the carriage of the Governor of Alexandria could be procured to carry him to Rosetta. Here he remained almost in a dying state, till a surgeon arrived from Cairo to attend him in his voyage up the river to that city: on the way he was obliged almost every day to stop at noon, from the agonies he endured and

* It was about this period that Mr. Belzoni left Egypt for Europe, and Mr. Beechey, after attending Mr. Salt's wedding, also took his departure for England. The loss of the latter must have been severely felt by Mr. Salt, who had become greatly attached to him from his many excellent qualities and most amiable disposition.—E.

the fainting fits by which they were followed. On his reaching Cairo, he lay in this dreadful state for two months, being given over by his medical attendants; but, as his appetite never entirely failed, he himself appears to have still entertained some slight hope of recovery. At length, in January 1820, the complaint abated, and he gradually recovered his strength and spirits.

During the whole of this dreadful attack, he received the most constant and affectionate attention from his wife, whose unceasing care, as he observes, did more towards his re-establishment than all the doctor's medicines. A short gleam of happiness succeeded these dismal scenes of domestic affliction, and he once again began to enjoy his existence. The weather became remarkably fine; his garden, in which he always took great delight, was in high beauty, and the close of the carnival particularly gay; while his own enjoyment became doubled by witnessing the happiness of his wife.

These scenes of unalloyed delight were unfortunately destined to be of short duration. In March he was again attacked by a severe malady, which ended in dysentery and reduced him to a mere skeleton; so that he was forced to quit the

city and retire to Old Cairo, on the banks of the Nile, where the Pasha had been kind enough to procure him an excellent house, and he was once more restored to health; but a strange *lethargy*, he says, still hung about him, which almost incapacitated him from active exertion, and prevented him for a long time from writing to any of his friends to acquaint them with the late events. This want of energy was the more ill-timed, as the duties of his office had recently much increased, which, together with the great accumulation of papers during his indisposition, exceedingly harassed his dejected spirits and worn-out frame, and it was long before he could arrange his affairs in any tolerable degree of order.

During the short interval of health which he had experienced at Cairo, he appears to have received intelligence that an important collection of antiquities, sent to Rosetta to await the arrival of a ship from England, was in some jeopardy; and Pearce was in consequence sent down to that place to ascertain the particulars, and, if possible, to prevent so serious a loss. This commission he appears, from the following letter, to have executed with his usual ability, and entirely to the satisfaction of Mr. Salt.

" Cairo, March 2nd, 1820.

" My dear Pearce,

" I got your letter safely from Rosetta, and am most happy to find that you succeeded in saving my antiques from the imminent danger they ran of going to the bottom of the Nile. I am sorry the order for Alexandria has been delayed, but hope that every assistance will have been given you in that quarter; if not, the present post will set all right, as I inclose an order for the Governor to Mr. Thurburn. As there will be a ship sent from England for the antiquities, it will be best for you to wait for its arrival, in order to accompany them home. All my friends in England are delighted to hear of your safe arrival in Egypt, and proper measures have been taken to set *all right* respecting you at the *Admiralty*. Turinga is better, and I think will recover, as she has gotten rid of her vomiting.* As soon as you have stored everything safe, it will be best for you to come back.

" Yours truly,

Henry Salt."

" Mr. Nathaniel Pearce, Alexandria."

* Mr. Salt erred in this expectation—she died early in May 1820, a few months only before the death of her husband. On the 17th of that month, 1820, Mr. Lee, in one

At Old Cairo Mr. Salt continued to reside till about the middle of June 1820, when his health becoming better, he returned to the capital. Previously to his arrival, he had arranged everything for Pearce's departure for England, and had put by an hundred pounds to defray the expenses of the poor fellow's voyage. He had applied some time before to the Earl of Mountnorris, the Right Honourable C. Yorke, &c. to interest themselves in getting the R removed from Pearce's name at the Admiralty; wrote to several of his friends at home to recommend him to their kind attention, and, in short, left nothing untried that could tend to promote either his comfort or advantage on his arrival in his native country.

of his letters to Pearce, thus notices the circumstance:— "I am sorry to hear of the death of your wife, for your sake —not for hers, as I am persuaded she is happier in a better world." She had been ill for some months, and she seems to have excited a good deal of interest among those who knew her. A short time before her death, the Rev. William Jowett wrote to Pearce respecting her in these words:—

"Let me hear from you very particularly about Turinga; and, especially if it should please God to remove her from this world, let me hear some account of her last hours. Remember me *very kindly* to her.

"Yours very sincerely,

WILLIAM JOWETT."

"Alexandria, April 20th, 1820."

The last letter I find among his papers, which Salt addressed to his protegé, is strongly characteristic of the kind consideration towards the feelings and convenience of others by which he was distinguished.

It seems, while living at Old Cairo, he had given leave to some friends of his to occupy apartments in the Consular House at Cairo, and Pearce, who was in charge of the premises, not knowing very well how to arrange matters to his own satisfaction, wrote to his master for instructions.

In reply, Mr. Salt says, " Mr. Bokty's family are to have the chambers below, the great hall above, and Mr. Ricci's chamber, and no other; as I had given very particular orders before, not to let them have *my* chamber, on account of not disturbing poor Turinga. I will write to Mr. Bockty mentioning that you have charge of the house, and I will thank you to pay them every attention in your power, as both Madame and her daughter are very good, and may, I hope, profit by the change of air. Poor Turinga's wish to be taken to Abyssinia is very characteristic of that attachment which the Abyssinians bear to their country; but you must be aware that it is a thing impossible. I beg you

will keep up your spirits, and believe me very truly your's,

"H. SALT."

"Old Cairo, May 4th, 1820."

All matters being now in readiness for Pearce's departure, he took his leave of the Consul, and proceeded to Alexandria, where he was unfortunately detained from the want "of a suitable passage" till he was attacked by a bilious fever, which in a short time put a period to his existence. The following short memoir of his death was drawn up by Mr. Salt who happened to arrive on the spot at the time when the event occurred. The account of the *complaint* was written by the medical man who attended him, and may prove interesting to some who are now living.

AUTHENTIC PARTICULARS RESPECTING THE DEATH OF MR. NATHANIEL PEARCE.*

"For the last year and a half, since his return from Abyssinia, he had been residing in the Con-

* This memoir and the accompanying one would have been given in "*Pearce's Life and Journal*," but, at the time I edited that work, I was not aware of their existence. I take this opportunity of correcting an oversight, which

sulate House, Cairo, when, being anxious to return to his native country, Mr. Salt, under whose protection he had lived for some years (assisted by a generous friend), provided him with the necessary funds for the voyage. At the latter end of May 1820, having taken charge of many valuable antiquities for the British Museum, and some other interesting articles for different noblemen and gentlemen in England, he proceeded to Alexandria, where he embarked on board a vessel commanded by Captain ———. This vessel being detained some time for want of cargo, and the north-western winds having set in, he was advised by his friends, with the view of lessening his expenses, to return on shore and wait for a vessel belonging to the house of Briggs and Co. which was expected to sail in September direct for England.

"This arrangement, intended for his benefit, proved most unfortunate. He landed, and shortly

I committed in that publication with respect to the date of Pearce's death. It is there stated that he died "early in June 1820," whereas it is clear from the above, that that event did not take place till the 12th of August in that year. Pearce's Will was alone sufficient to disprove my statement, as was justly remarked in a very liberal article on the work which appeared, if I rightly remember, in the Monthly Review.—E.

afterwards was seized with a bilious fever, which, notwithstanding the best medical aid the place could afford, brought him to his end. He died on the 12th of August in the morning. During his illness, he had expressed a most anxious desire to see Mr. Salt, when, as he said repeatedly, 'he should die content.' This satisfaction, by a fortunate coincidence, he obtained, Mr. Salt having arrived at Alexandria on the 10th, just in time to receive his dying farewell and to pay him those last attentions, to which the important services he had rendered Mr. Salt in Abyssinia, and a long and faithful attachment, had given him so just a title.

"He was buried in the evening within the precincts of the Greek convent, and his funeral was attended by the Consul General, Mr. Lee, British Consul in Alexandria, Mr. Henderson of the East Indian Medical Establishment, and other respectable persons; his body being carried to the grave by six English sailors, which from his love to the Navy, in which he had served, he had always anxiously desired. About twelve days previously to his decease he made a Will, and has left all his papers to the entire disposal of Mr. Salt, with permission to publish them, remarking in his Will, that it was for *him* that the facts were chiefly collected.

" Mr. Pearce was born of respectable parents, at East Acton, Middlesex, and had attained about the age of forty. His natural talents were great, and, in the strangely diversified career of his life, he had acquired an extraordinary fund of general information. In writing, he describes what he had seen with precision, and leads his reader to imagine that the reality is passing before his eyes. He has left a brother and sisters, who loved him and are anxiously awaiting his arrival at home. They will long cherish his memory, and it will always be held in respect by those who knew his sterling worth, and who admire an honest heart joined to a true English spirit."

MEMORANDUM OF THE ILLNESS AND DEATH OF PEARCE, WRITTEN BY A MEDICAL GENTLEMAN, WHO VISITED HIM A DAY OR TWO BEFORE THE EVENT.

" On my arrival at Alexandria, on the 10th of August, I learned from Mr. Lee, the British Consul, that an Englishman named Pearce, of some celebrity as a resident for many years in Abyssinia, was dangerously ill, and it was proposed that we should visit him in company with Sig. Vernoni his medical attendant, and consult on the best means of affording relief to our un-

fortunate countryman. We accordingly proceeded to his residence, a commodious garden-house belonging to the Consul, where I found Mr. Pearce labouring under symptoms of a severe bilious fever, which Sig. Vernoni informed me had attacked him fifteen days before, and had now reduced him to a state of exhaustion that almost precluded any hope of recovery. * * In addition to his other fatal symptoms, I learned from Sig. Vernoni that delirium had supervened for the last three nights. His mind was collected at the time of our visit, and he readily consented to observe such directions as might be given; but his attention appeared to be wholly occupied by extreme anxiety to see his old friend Mr. Salt, whose arrival from Cairo was then hourly expected, and occurred the same afternoon. On repeating our visit the following day, we found our unfortunate patient still farther reduced, and an aggravation of all the symptoms; the pulse, increased in frequency and debility, restlessness, and mental wandering, combined to indicate the approaching crisis, which terminated his sufferings early the next morning."

The loss of this remarkable man and faithfully attached follower, after the long connexion which had subsisted between them, was severely felt by

Mr. Salt, who had been greatly instrumental in raising him from the depth of misery and despair to the state of respectability and comfort he enjoyed when under the Consul's protection in Egypt. The errors and misfortunes of his former life appear to have sunk deep into his mind, and to have produced a thorough and salutary reformation in a character which at no period was radically corrupt; while the anxiety he evinced for Mr. Salt's presence in his dying hour, when his spirit seemed to linger on earth only till the arrival of his benefactor, displays a warmth of feeling and affection which reflects the greatest credit on his memory. From the time of the Consul's arrival in Egypt, he had uniformly forwarded him to the amount of sixty pounds a-year, a provision that must have been greatly augmented on his return from Abyssinia, when, besides his salary, he had generally the advantage of living, with his wife and her attendant, free of all expense at the Consular mansion. He also managed, by his translations, &c. to add occasionally to his means, and he seems, by the style of many letters addressed to him from gentlemen of the first respectability, to have been held in great regard and esteem. Had he survived, he was to have brought with him many introductory

letters from Mr. Salt to several persons of distinction and others in England, which in consequence of his sudden death were not forwarded till some months after. The following are extracts from several of them.

TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES YORKE.

"Old Cairo, May 31st, 1820.

"DEAR SIR,

"The present letter will be delivered to you by my protegé, Mr. Pearce, whom I take the liberty of recommending to your kind protection. His sufferings have been very great; but he has never ceased to maintain the high character of an Englishman; and I am glad to say that he carries home a journal that will do him great credit in the eyes of all those who know how to estimate a vivid narration of facts. I send home by him many drawings, memoirs, and sketches, to the address of William Hamilton, Esq. I have requested him, in the first instance, to show them to you, as I feel peculiarly anxious you should know that my time has not been spent idly in Egypt. I have to request that you will do me the favour to accept of a small lion of *antique* Egyptian workmanship, found in Upper Egypt. * * * I have also sent, through Mr. Hamil-

ton, a fine view of Mont Blanc, which I picked up at Geneva, and which I beg to present to Mrs. Yorke: these are trifling testimonies only of the great obligations I owe you. I hope you will be pleased to hear that I have entered the state of matrimony. My wife, I am glad to say, is very amiable, and adds much to my happiness. Believe me, dear Sir,

"With great truth and esteem,
Your grateful servant, H. S."

TO THE EARL OF MOUNTNORRIS.

"Old Cairo, May 31st, 1820.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"This letter will be delivered to you by Pearce, whom I have made an effort to forward with his journal to England. * * * I send by him a variety of articles, of which you will, I hope, have received duplicate lists before his arrival. Should you get by chance this letter first, you will hear from Pearce of my marriage, and of my late illnesses, both of which had nigh brought me to the grave. I am glad to say that I am once more tolerably well re-established in health; and am *very happy*, I can assure you, in my new condition. My wife is a very amiable girl, and we live very happily together. I have so much to

do before Pearce's departure, that you must excuse this short letter. H. S."

"Alexandria, Sept. 10th, 1820.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"The death of poor Pearce, by whom the above letter was to have gone, has been a sad blow to me. You will receive a copy of his Will, made before my arrival here, and some other particulars from Bingham Richards, through whom I now send the articles that were to have gone by our poor friend. I enclose you the letter that was to have been sent to Sir Joseph Banks, and have directed the plants therein named to be sent to you. * * *

"I send you some news from Muscat and Jerusalem, and a copy of a certificate, testifying that Sir Frederick Henniker and Captain Macdonnell have succeeded in mounting the *second* Pyramid. I have, in my possession, a most valuable and extraordinary journal of an Italian apothecary, who has turned Turk, and is now a favourite at the Court of Sana. It completely fills up the chasm in Niebuhr, giving a very curious insight into the private history of this people, the writer being in the very midst of the best society in Yemen; he also speaks the language. I knew him personally in

Egypt. Having Pearce's journal to put in order,† and perhaps some observations to make on the Abyssinians, I have kept back, for a time, the Portuguese and Italian book on Abyssinia which I had sent you; but when I have looked them over I will forward them by the first safe occasion. I hope that may be *in person*, having written to you to obtain for me a short leave of absence, which is very desirable on many accounts. The captain, who takes this, has a civet cat for you, which poor Pearce was very anxious should get safe to you and alive. H. S."

"To the Earl of Mountnorris."

TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOSEPH BANKS.
(Inclosed in the preceding.)

"Old Cairo, May 31st, 1820.

"DEAR SIR,

"This letter is for the purpose of introducing to your kind protection my Abyssinian friend, Mr. Pearce. * * * He is the bearer of a box of plants, partly collected by Mr. Bankes and myself in Nubia, as also a few minerals collected

† Mr. Salt, from a variety of causes, never put this intention into execution. When the journal reached me in 1829, it was without any of his remarks, and just in the same unfinished state in which Pearce had written it: probably *after* the death of the latter, he might feel it an unpleasant task to undertake, and so deferred it from time to time.—E.

and left in my hands by the late Mr. Burkhardt, among which I hope some may be found that are interesting. * * * You will be sorry to hear that the climate of Egypt does not very well agree with me, as I have had two dangerous attacks of illness since my last letter. In addition, I have to mention my having taken a wife, which has been a great accession to my domestic comfort and happiness.

"I am, dear Sir, yours, &c. &c. H. S."

"Old Cairo, June 1st, 1820.

"MY DEAR HALLS,

"I send you, by my Abyssinian protegé Pearce, a portrait of Mrs. Salt, which is inclosed in a box, directed to William Hamilton, Esq. It is not a very favourable likeness, but well executed by my secretary, Mr. Santini: when I say not favourable, I mean that it is neither so young nor so handsome as the original. When you have kept it as long as you like, to show our friends, I will thank you to forward it to my sister, Mrs. Morgan, Lichfield. I can assure you I have been most fortunate in my choice, and much happier in the state of matrimony than when single. My lady has a good deal of spirit and character, but tempered by a very excellent disposition. I hope that you also have gained by your change of condition,

which it is curious should have occurred so nearly about the same time.† I have had a good deal of serious illness lately from a tumour, as the *doctors decided upon it*, which luckily suppurated; and since I have had a sharp attack of dysentery. I take all with my usual patience; good or ill, all must have a speedy end. * * * Pray remember me kindly to all friends, and believe me yours ever, H. S."

"P. S. Pearce carries home a valuable journal, which I hope, poor fellow, may, after all his sufferings, be of use to him. Any little kindness you can show him will greatly oblige me.

"*September* 18th. Pearce being dead, this has been delayed, and goes by another conveyance. Bingham Richards will give you all the particulars of the poor fellow's decease. Kindest regards to your sisters. Richards will show you some of my sketches. But what will chiefly please you are the drawings Beechey and I took in the new Tomb. As they were entirely done by candlelight, I think you will admire our patience. I had a long letter from Belgrave Hoppner the other day. He is well, and apparently very happy with his young child.

"Yours most truly, H. S.

† I had married on the 2nd of December 1819.—E.

"P. S. *My* lady desires to be remembered to *yours*, as well as to your sisters. What a '*fine world it is!!*'"

FROM THE SAME TO THE RIGHT HON. C. YORKE.

"Alexandria, Sept. 12th, 1820.

"DEAR SIR,

"I took the liberty of forwarding to you, a few days back, a letter that was to have gone to England by my poor friend Pearce, whom it has pleased God to release from the sufferings of this world. * * *

"I send to England, through Mr. Richards, many drawings, sketches, and memoirs, which he is authorized to show to you. I have also forwarded the coloured designs, taken hy myself and Mr. Beechey from the new Tomb, which I think it will please you to examine. Mr. Belzoni has done much in taking models of that Tomb; but he was not equal to give an idea of their style of painting. Mr. Richards will also deliver to you copies of three inscriptions which were found, by Mr. Bankes and myself, last year in Nubia. That of the time of Psammeticus you will, I am sure, be much interested in making out. It appears to me to be two inscriptions; one the memorial of the troops with Psammeticus, and

the other of his General, Amasis. The name of the river *υισο* has, I think, some resemblance to that of Issa, which I see, by the last Quarterly, has been long given to the Niger. * * * In my former letter I have mentioned my marriage, which you will be pleased to hear has added much to my happiness, the young lady being of a very amiable disposition. I have written to Mr. Hamilton to beg he will obtain for me a short leave of absence, being anxious, on many accounts, to pay a visit to England: I have both public and private reasons for wishing it; communications of some moment to make from our *Great* Man; private affairs to settle, one of my father's executors being dead, and several things to publish. Besides which, my constitution has greatly suffered from two very severe attacks this year, in which my life was for some time despaired of.

"Under these circumstances, I hope you will not think me wrong in requesting your kind influence on this occasion, as I feel assured a word from you to Lord Castlereagh would obtain me the permission required. * * *

"We have lately had some interesting discoveries of Greek mummy cases, covered with hieroglyphics and short Greek inscriptions, dated

in the reign of Adrian. I have one of these for the British Museum, which enclosed the remains of Soter, the son of Cornelius, Commandant of Thebes. It is a most valuable specimen of the arts, as practised in Egypt at that period. There have also been found papyri, in a mummy character, dated in the time of the Ptolemies, and others in the reigns of the first Emperors. I have one of these latter, which appears to be a decree of one of the sub-prefects, respecting the funeral rites. In the interior of the mummy cases are representations of the zodiac, corresponding with that at Dendera, and which, I conceive, clearly establishes the recent date of the latter; both have the sign Cancer out of the line of the other signs. I am engaged at present in making observations on these.

"Believe me, my dear Sir,

Your grateful servant, H. S."

At the period when the above was written, Mr. Salt addressed a letter to Lord Mountnorris containing a similar request to procure him leave of absence, when his lordship immediately wrote to Mr. C. Yorke, Lord Morton, and others, to use their interest with Lord Castlereagh to obtain it. The subjoined answers were speedily returned.

FROM THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES YORKE.

"Boningtons, Dec. 14th, 1820.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"This morning's post brought me a note from Lord Castlereagh to the following effect:—

'MY DEAR YORKE—I shall be most happy to give Mr. Salt the leave his health requires, which he has so well merited by his zealous endeavours to be useful *in all ways* to his country, and I thank you very much, both for pointing him out originally to me, and now for suggesting the manner in which I can contribute either to his personal convenience or to the restoration of his health.' * * *

"I know the above will give you pleasure, and shall rely on you to communicate the substance to Salt, if necessary.

"I presume you have heard from him by the same conveyance which brought me his letter, dated Alexandria, the 12th of September, conveying the much-to-be-regretted account of poor Pearce's death just as he was on the point of embarking for his native country: the removal of the *broad R.* is now of little or no consequence. * * * * Salt mentions some mummies lately discovered with Greek inscriptions, as well as hieroglyphics, as late as Hadrian; also papyri,

which seem still legible or interpretable. I trust the light is now beginning to break in upon us in earnest. * * * * Adieu!

"Yours truly, C. YORKE."

"The Earl of Mountnorris," &c.

FROM THE EARL OF MORTON TO LORD MOUNTNORRIS.

"Wimpole Street, Dec. 15th, 1820.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I have seen Lord Castlereagh, and am happy to inform you that Mr. Salt's leave of absence is granted; at the same time I can claim no merit in obtaining it, for better interest than mine has, I find, been exerted for him, at which I rejoice. Indeed, I think his own merits are such as to require no extraneous support on such an occasion. I beg you will accept of my best thanks for your obliging letter and for its most welcome intelligence. The introduction of the Dongola breed of horses has for many years been a favourite hobbyhorse of mine, and now I think I have a fairer prospect of attaining that object than I ever had before; at the same time, I am afraid of being too sanguine. Mr. Salt's friend, Abden Cacheef, may not conquer Dongola, or, if he should, the good fellows in possession of the

horses may ride away with them; I shall, however, hope for the best.† The different subscribers to this undertaking are at present dispersed. * * I am going immediately to Scotland, and, under these circumstances, I have applied to Mr. Sewell, assistant-professor at the Veterinary College, and he has undertaken to receive the horses in the event of Mr. Salt's sending them to this country. Should he bring them, as I hope he will, they can be under no better care than his own; and I flatter myself that his intended visit to this country will re-establish his health. I have the honour to be, my dear lord,

"Your very faithful servant, MORTON."

"To the Earl of Mountnorris."

† Before Mr. Salt left England, Lord Morton, and several other spirited noblemen and gentlemen, had requested Mr. Salt to use his endeavours, on his arrival in Egypt, to procure for them some horses and mares of the Dongola breed. The accomplishment of their wishes occasioned Mr. Salt some anxiety and trouble; but, after a good deal of difficulty, he succeeded in procuring some of the animals, which were safely conveyed to England, and, it appears, gave great and entire satisfaction to the gentlemen who had requested him to undertake the commission. The great expenses attending the purchase and transport of the animals were cheerfully repaid; but it seems probable the scheme would not have been crowned with success had it not been for the influence Mr. Salt possessed over the Pasha.—E.

CHAPTER VII.

Salt is unable to avail himself of his leave of absence, in consequence of an apprehended rupture with Russia.—Letter to Lord Mountnorris descriptive of some political events in Egypt.—Salt sends a large Collection of Antiquities to the British Museum, and others to different Noblemen and Gentlemen.—He is seized with Typhus Fever.—His Letter on that subject to Lord Mountnorris.—Account of his Voyage to Assouan.—His Letter to Mr. Hamilton respecting the Pasha's wish to purchase two Frigates.—Letter to Mr. Richards on the subject of Belzoni—another to Miss Halls.

THE leave of absence which had been thus flatteringly obtained from Lord Castlereagh, and which was immediately forwarded to Egypt from the Foreign Office, Mr. Salt was, unfortunately for his health, unable to avail himself of, as, at the time when he received it, great apprehensions were entertained of a rupture with Russia, which rendered his presence at his post indispensable. The disappointment must have been, on many accounts, peculiarly unpleasant at that period;

but he seems to have borne it with his usual cheerfulness and resignation—indeed, during the whole of his residence in Egypt, he in no instance appears to have suffered his own convenience or advantage to interfere with the paramount sense of duty he uniformly evinced for the service of his country. This sentiment he carried to an almost chivalrous extent, and it is certain, that to his strong and lofty feelings upon this point we ultimately owed the early termination of his honourable and useful life.*

The annexed letter to Lord Mountnorris describes some political events that were passing in Egypt and the neighbourhood about the period of Pearce's death, in which Salt bore a part, and which are not devoid of interest.

"Cairo, Nov. 2nd, 1820.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I sent you a letter in August last, and several things by Richards, which I hope before this you

* I was informed by Mr. Coffin that, for months before Mr. Salt died, he had been urged by his friends to leave the country, at least for a time, and return to England, as the only possible chance of saving his life; but at that crisis there was no one in Egypt to whom he felt he could safely confide the affairs of the Consulate; and, though he was fully aware of his situation, and had long had Mr. Canning's leave of absence in his pocket, he uniformly refused to

will have received. * * At present I am glad to say that my health seems pretty well established, thanks to matrimony! but I am very busy, owing to an expedition which the Indian government has sent to obtain redress for some outrageous proceedings about three years back at Mocha; ten or twelve ships have arrived already for the purpose of blockading the Imaum's ports, which, as you may well imagine, has occasioned a great sensation in the Red Sea. Our Pasha, too, is in some degree compromised, as Yemen, since his restoring the provinces of Hodeida, Beit el Tackee, &c. which he had conquered from the Sheriffe Hamood, had been considered as paying tribute, (coffee for the use of the Grand Seignor,) and in some degree as under the Ottoman Porte. I hope, however, with prudence to be able to steer clear of a quarrel. The Pasha and I continue on the best terms. He has now a grand expedition on foot for the interior, and his son, Ismael Pasha, has already advanced as far as Dongola; so that there are hopes that we shall soon hear something of Meroe. Great preparations for defence, it is

hearken to the entreaties of his friends, saying, "that no personal considerations should induce him meanly to desert his post when the interests of his country called for his services."—E.

said, are making at Sennaar; but I think it will be with difficulty that the Turkish troops will advance so far.

"Some idea has been entertained here that Abyssinia is the ultimate object; but I have already, as far as I dared without authority, stopped that, and have written to Lord Castlereagh for farther instructions. There would be only one circumstance which could make such an expedition formidable, as far as respects Abyssinia, and that would be a junction of the troops of Sennaar, who, it is to be remembered, are Musselmen, when their united force would become alarming, especially should they be joined by the Musselmen Galla to the south; but of this I entertain no fear at present, knowing how difficult it is among African tribes to effect an union.

"Since Pearce's death, I have had an Abyssinian priest in my house, a good quiet soul, who contented himself with reading his Bible aloud for ten hours in the day. He *could* read fluently, but not write, or I should otherwise have used all my endeavours to have persuaded him to pass over to England. I have, however, requested my friend Subegadis, who remains master of Tigré, to send me two priests from among the best informed, who I think will be acceptable to the

Bible and Missionary Societies, should they come; otherwise, Mr. Asselin and I can employ them at Cairo. We are getting on, though not very rapidly, with discoveries of Greek papyri, and I have become tolerably expert in decyphering the current character. * * * With kindest remembrance to Lord Valentia, believe me, my dear Lord,

"Yours, &c. H. S."

"P. S. My *lady*, you will be glad to hear, is in a *promising* way; she has had one mishap of two months, but has now, I am happy to say, got over the third month."

"To the Earl of Mountnorris."

About the date of this letter, Mr. Salt had sent over to England a large collection of very curious antiquities, some of which were designed for the British Museum, and others for different noblemen and gentlemen, which will hereafter be noticed. He also sent over many sketches, drawings, inscriptions, and memoirs, designed for publication; but, on inquiry, the expense of bringing them out in an advantageous form was estimated at so high a rate, that his friends did not think themselves justified in entailing upon him so heavy a charge, more especially as, from the

nature of the works, it was not probable they could *generally* interest, or hold out any rational prospect of their ever repaying him the expenses attendant on their publication. His leave of absence, too, must have reached Egypt about the period when the antiquities, &c. arrived in England, so that his almost immediate return was expected; and it was in consequence judged most expedient to wait till he should be on the spot to give his own directions, and to superintend the progress of any of the works that he himself might select for the press. It was, however, most unfortunate for his health, his own private affairs, and in some respects for the public service, that the political circumstances of the times forbade his taking advantage of the permission he had received to revisit his native country.

"In the autumn of 1821," he says, in a letter to Lord Mountnorris, "I had a very violent attack of typhus fever, which affected both my body and mind; and, as the state of affairs in Turkey would not permit me to take advantage of the indulgence to travel on the Continent you so kindly interested yourself to procure for me, I made an excursion into the upper province as far as Assouan. From this I received great benefit; but, on coming down, as soon as the hot season

began to set in, I was again seriously ill with my old complaint in the bowels and a continual voiding of blood, under which I have been now suffering for six weeks. It has reduced me much, but I hope will not prove of serious consequence, though these continued attacks in such a country hold out but a bad prospect for the future. The uncertainty of war or peace with Russia renders it impossible for me to quit my post, or most certainly I should now be in Italy. Perhaps next year, if Briggs should be here, whom alone I could trust with the Consulate, and affairs should take a favourable turn, I may be able to pay a visit to Leghorn, where my wife's relations anxiously expect our arrival. * * * I send you a copy of an account of my voyage to Assouan, written to Mr. Lee in Alexandria. * * *

"The last account I have from Abyssinia is of a late date. Coffin was well, with his family, but in moderate circumstances. I have sent him a portion of what you were good enough to send me for him, and shall soon have an opportunity to forward the remainder. The Pasha's expedition in the interior goes on prosperously. Sennaar has been taken and Kordofan: and Mr. Bankes has an artist above, taking drawings of Meroe, and all the other interesting ruins found

above the second cataract. There does not appear, I am happy to say, to be any intention of attacking Abyssinia; and I have satisfaction in thinking that, without in any way compromising government, I have been the means of averting the Pasha's thoughts from that country.

"We have several voyagers here in their way from India, and the route begins to be much frequented; but I have not yet been able to persuade the Company to make me any allowance, though their agency entails upon me considerable expense.* Everything remains tran-

* I know not whether Mr. Salt at any period received the slightest remuneration for the expenses he incurred in consequence of this agency. I find no mention of it in any of his letters, and am inclined to believe that nothing of the kind was offered him during his long residence in Egypt; but it must be pleasing to those who are attached to his memory, to read the satisfactory account which some travellers have given of his kind hospitality to strangers passing through the country. In her "Narrative of a Journey overland from England through Egypt, &c." Mrs. Colonel Elgood thus speaks of the late Consul: "Mr. Salt was rather a fine-looking man, with a considerable degree of lassitude in his manners, which gave Charles (Colonel Elgood) the impression he was at that time suffering under a liver complaint. When engaged in conversation, however, this vanished, and, from having been much with the literary and politically great, possessing a well-informed mind, and considerable taste for literature and the Beaux

quil here; but a war with Russia would be likely to place us in difficulty. We have a great many Maltese and Ionian subjects here, and the latter especially are looked upon with great suspicion. You would hardly suppose that the affairs of my office at Cairo now employ a regular cancelier and two clerks, who receive from it nearly two hundred a year: so that I have in fact very little time on my hands, being continually occupied in adjudging causes, or in writing official letters to Constantinople, Malta,

Arts, he had great powers of entertainment, and was a very amusing companion. He showed us his paintings, his poetry—he appeared delighted to meet with some one who could enter into his pursuits and feelings; and it seemed a refreshment to him, to turn from the price of cotton, or from some trifling dispute of English Captains, or Arab Fellahs, to the works of Madame de Staël and Walter Scott. I confess, I never expected to have discussed the merits of Corinne and Rob Roy at Alexandria! On the 19th, in spite of the Camseen, and his kind wishes for us to prolong our stay, we took leave of our kind host, trusting to meet in England at some future period. Alas! we little thought his end was so near, when we bade him farewell."—"We feared (says Mrs. C. Lushington in her 'Journey from Calcutta to Europe,') something untoward had happened, and were sorry to learn that it was the death of Mr. Salt which had caused the disappointment. We had relied so much on experiencing from him the kindness which he invariably showed to travellers, that this alone would have made us regret his death." Page 44.—E.

&c., which, to say the truth, pleases me better than if I had nothing to do. * * * Believe me to be, my dear lord, your's most truly,

" H. S."

" To the Earl of Mountnorris,
Cairo, May 15th, 1822."

COPY OF A LETTER FROM H. SALT, ESQ. TO MR. LEE IN ALEXANDRIA,

Enclosed in the preceding.

" Cairo, April 26th, 1822.

" My dear Sir,

" I received this morning your's of the 22nd of April, and am truly sorry to hear of the disaster that has befallen Mr. Burton; but hope he may have saved my letters with his other effects. My chief object in going to Assouan was to get down Mr. Bankes's pedestal, about which he had written to me with great anxiety, and in fact, he hoped it would have been ready for Captain Smith, but this was not possible. It had cost me great expense and trouble, and I was obliged to carry it overland three miles, over rocky ground, to get it below the cataract. This, however, thanks to the care and exertions of Yanni, whom I took up expressly for the purpose, was accomplished, and

I left it safe on board the *Maash* under the care of Halleel the Armenian, to be brought down to Alexandria; but the river being unusually low, I imagine it will not reach us until some months hence. To guard against the additional expense this delay must occasion, I have bargained with the Rais for eight hundred piastres on its safe delivery at Alexandria. Once there, I hope you will be able to find it a conveyance to England.

"I have heard lately of Mr. Linant, and expect him down in a few days. Ibrahim Pasha speaks very highly of what he has done, and says that his map is better than that of Caillaud, though he also said that Constant, who was with Caillaud, was a clever young man. The voyage of Linant is likely to be of great interest; he has visited and taken drawings of every piece of antiquity between the cataracts and Sennaar. Ismael Pasha, as well as Abden Cacheef, were very good in supplying him with money, and indeed I hear they have been very attentive to all the European travellers.

"My own voyage has not been unproductive of interest; I discovered some new catacombs at a place called Kourn Hamusas, near Minieh; ascertained at Abydos, that the arched chambers,

which are so peculiar to this building, are all closed at the western end, so as to form seven sekoi to the temple; and that their walls are covered with curious sculptures in a very ancient style. Mr. Drovetti has excavated close to the spot, but had not suspected the fact. At Deir, the little temple near Esné, I excavated the fallen stones, and was fortunate enough to complete the zodiack, which was a great desideratum.

"At Thebes, I occupied myself in making drawings of some of the great historical designs, or battles, on the Memnonium and at Karnac, measuring all the stones and doing the whole on a scale. Yanni has also discovered some most interesting private tombs, where most of the domestic scenes usually represented are as fresh as when they were painted. One is the tomb of a royal scribe, and seems, by the great care that has been taken in the execution, to have been painted by himself. I have got the statue of himself and wife, his colour-stand, pallet, and a scarabee, set as a ring, with his name. Yanni has also discovered an Egyptian chair, in fine preservation, like those drawn on the walls of the Kings' tombs. It is inlaid with ivory and ebony, and is of a very handsome form, being put together entirely with wooden

pegs instead of nails, or other fastening: he has likewise found the fragments of a harp, from which it will be very easy to restore that instrument; it is not very handsome in form, but had twenty-one strings. Of small statues in wood, stone, and bronze, he has made a better collection than I have before seen. One figure of his especially, about sixteen inches high in bronze inlaid with silver, is extremely fine.

"At Elephanta, I excavated to the bottom of the Nileometer, first noticed by the French, and have found inscriptions from the time of Augustus to Alexander Severus. This curious monument, mentioned by Strabo, gives us the true Greek used at that time in Egypt, and proves that there is a difference of from nine to eleven feet in the height of the soil, from what it was in the time of the Romans. At Philoe, where I did not hope to do much, after the long stay of Mr. Bankes there, I found and excavated the front of a small temple with an inscription upon it in Greek, which proves that it was dedicated by Ptolomeus Epiphanus to Esculapius. I have made some progress in the hieroglyphics, though not much; but in the mythology, and in being able to point out the different deities, I have made considerable ad-

vance. I found the old Tranga Bey at Assouan, and received from him many kind attentions. * * * Everybody above speaks highly of the conduct of Ismael Pasha in the expedition, as well as of the great improvements already introduced at Dongola by my friend Abden Cacheef; but there is a general outcry against the cruelty of the Deftardar Bey, who is committing all sorts of horrors. It is better, however, to say nothing, or else it will only the more confirm his erroneous notion that we go up to spy the land.

"The season appears to have been very extraordinary in Egypt, and we were witnesses above to one of the most singular sights I have ever heard of, occasioned, no doubt, by the quantity of rain in the mountains. This was no other than the fall of an immense torrent of water into the Nile, not far from Minieh. The bank was in this part upwards of twenty feet high, and the extent of the cascade was, at one period, two hundred feet and more broad. It was on the side of the Nile towards the Red Sea, and the mountains at a great distance, so that, as you may imagine, the torrent was composed of as much sand as water. Its current we estimated at eight miles an hour, and it continued for a

long time; so that it broke away immense masses of the bank, which, every now and then, came tumbling down with a tremendous roar into the Nile.

" Our observations were made on shore, where we landed to examine more particularly this singular phenomenon. The river was discoloured by it as far down as Cairo, and Mr. Macardle, on asking one of the natives the cause, was ingeniously told that a mountain of argillaceous earth must have been brought down from the mountains of the Red Sea: which was not very far from the fact. We had two other curious adventures on the Nile: the one was being robbed in the night, of brass cans and tea-kettle, pipe, mouth-pieces, &c., which actually lay between my servant Alli and Mr. Ross's dragoman, sleeping with arms by their side outside the cabin, beside the whole crew, and ourselves also on board; one article was a basin for washing the feet, a foot and a half in diameter, with water in it, which the robber, or robbers, coolly carried up the bank before they emptied it of its contents. We were awakened at last by the firing of a gun, which Mr. Ross's dragoman aimed at one of the thieves returning for fresh plunder to the boat. The third adventure was, having the

good fortune to save three boys from drowning in the night. They were sailing towards Assouan, with an old man, when the boat was upset; the old man was drowned, and the young ones clung, almost starved to death, to the floating wreck, when we had the good chance to hear their cries and to save them.

" Your's, &c. H. S."

FROM THE SAME TO WILLIAM HAMILTON, ESQ.

" Alexandria, Nov. 6th, 1821.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" I send home on this occasion an official letter, including a note from the Pasha's confidential interpreter, to request that the Government will do him the favour to furnish him with two frigates; and as he expressed himself, in his conversation with me, very earnestly on the subject, I have to beg you will have the kindness to give your powerful assistance towards obtaining the object required. The payment is certain in either of the ways that he proposes; but, perhaps, that by Malta might be most expeditious, as the supply of corn annually furnished to that island amounts to a very considerable sum, which is always paid in dollars. His Highness specifies the Tagus, from the circumstance of his having been on board

that frigate about two years back, when she was commanded by Captain Dundas, at which period nothing could be more admirable than the beautiful order in which she was kept; but I have to observe, that he would prefer having them of a larger class.

"The reason why the idea of frigates on the new American construction came into his head, was, from his having seen a French frigate of that construction at this port, which certainly was a very fine ship. When his Highness spoke to me on the subject, I represented to him, that ships of this last species were rarely built in England, and it was then that he replied, he should be equally well pleased if they were like the Tagus, or larger: for, as he was most anxious to have them as quickly as possible, he should dislike the necessity of waiting for their being built.

"Of course you will perfectly understand, that though he does not wish to have them new, he wishes to have them as good as new; and, as appearance goes so far with the Turks, you will be aware, should the Government comply with his request, how important it will be to have them handsome vessels, and sent out in perfect order, so as to please at first sight. * * * Our tranquillity, and even personal security, now so

much rests upon keeping on good terms with the ruling powers, that I trust his Highness's request will not be refused, and I rely much on your friendship in getting over any difficulties which may be started. * * * You will easily perceive, by what I write, how much I have this affair at heart, being persuaded of the great importance of the result in keeping up a good understanding with the Pasha. He expects it from the friendship of our Government, and, should it be refused, will be severely disappointed; and should the French Government sanction a similar request sent to them, it will completely give them the ascendancy here, their new Consul-General, Drovetti, knowing well how to make the most of such a business. Believe me, my dear Sir,

"Your's, &c. H. S.

"P. S. I fear I have made a mistake in the address of my letter to the *Earl* Londonderry instead of *Marquis*, which I hope you will get excused, as it is painful to me to recopy the letter, having just recovered from a severe typhus fever, which has left me very weak."

"To William Hamilton, Esq. &c. &c. &c."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE SAME TO BINGHAM RICHARDS, ESQ.

"Alexandria, Oct. 5th, 1821.

"MY DEAR RICHARDS,

"* * * I find, by letters from England, that Belzoni persuades the good people at home, that all my collection belongs to him. I do not wish to oppose myself to one who can be capable of such conduct; but think it right to send you a copy of our final agreement, which you will find enclosed; and I also send on this occasion to Mr. Hamilton, whom I am happy to find again in England, a short statement† of all that passed between me and the said Belzoni, that it may be seen by the Trustees of the British Museum, and by some of my particular friends.

"I think of coming to England in the spring, should there be no war with Turkey, to finish my affairs with the Museum; but you must not rely on my having left Egypt until you actually see me.

"My lady, some short time back, was safely delivered of a fine girl, who is well, thank God, and *a charming child, beautiful as an angel,* and

† These two documents have been already given.

very engaging: we have named her Georgina Henrietta Annesley Salt, in compliment to her godfather, the Earl of Mountnorris. It is a long time since I heard from you, which I attribute to your supposing me absent from Egypt.

"Your's, &c. H. S."

FROM THE SAME TO MISS HALLS.

"Alexandria, Sept. 2nd, 1822.

"MY DEAR *Niece*,

"I am almost afraid you will have given me up in despair before the receipt of this letter, and I have but little to plead in my defence. Your letter reached me at Philoe, above the cataracts, and this prevented my answering it immediately, and then, on my return, I had another of my blessed attacks of illness, which kept me to my chamber for a month; and since the old story of procrastination has crept upon me, and so, from day to day, I have been wanting in duty to myself and to you.

"I must first express my delight at hearing of your brother Tom's promotion to the police magistracy, a post in every way so well adapted to his talents and character. * * * It is a situation, which, had I not been Consul here, would have exactly suited me; but as *it is*, I

not one of idleness; the little time I have to spare besides, is spent in poring over Greek manuscripts, and in the study of Egyptian antiquities, in which, as you know the sort of burrowing faculty I possess, like that of a mole under ground, you will not be surprised at my having made considerable progress. * * *

"One of the most painful subjects of regret that my situation entails upon me, is the little prospect I have of ever joining our old circle; yet, for a short time at least, I do not despair of accomplishing it. The unsettled state of affairs in Turkey prevented my taking advantage of the year's absence accorded me, so that I still have it in reserve, and you may be sure, when once out of Egypt, I shall not return to it without passing at least a month in London; and Brighton in case of your being there, shall not certainly be forgotten.

"My marriage, you will be glad to hear, has been productive of much happiness to me; my wife is very amiable, and strives, by every means in her power, to contribute to our domestic felicity; while our little child is, for her age, *an angel*, full of spirit and intelligence, and promising to be as beautiful as her mother; she is just sixteen months old (on the 1st of October), is named

Henrietta Georgina, has had the vaccine, measles, and has no less than sixteen teeth, which is a '*great* matter' for a child to have got over at so early an age. * * *

Pray remember me kindly to Julia and her husband, and the rest of your family, and believe me, with great truth,

" Your sincere and affectionate friend,

H. S."

" To Miss Halls."

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"Your sincere and affectionate friend,

H. S."

"To Miss Halls."

CHAPTER VIII.

Unsettled state of Turkey.—Critical situation of the Pasha of Egypt.—Salt's Letter on Eastern Politics to Sir Francis Darwin.—Another to Mr. Hamilton on the like subject.—Account of the terrible Earthquake at Aleppo.—Extracts from Salt's Letter to Colonel Leake.—His last Letter to the Author.—Loss of his Manuscript Work on Abyssinia, Egypt, and Arabia.—Amelioration of his health.—Writes again to Lord Mountnorris on the subject of his renewed request for leave of absence.—Another Letter to that Nobleman.—Salt's Verses on the Death of his Infant.—Coffin's Letters to Salt.

THE unsettled state of Turkey in 1822, with respect to her Grecian subjects, and the crafty policy of Russia, prevented Mr. Salt from putting his intention of visiting England into execution; the state of public affairs in these quarters not only requiring his immediate presence in Egypt, but the exertion of his utmost vigilance and ability to keep matters on a peaceable footing. The situation of the Pasha became extremely critical, between his desire to avoid everything that might lead to a rupture with England, and his wish, at

that period, to give no cause of umbrage to the Court of Constantinople, that could lead it to suspect prematurely the deep political game in which he had long been engaged. His firmness, however, and consummate prudence appear, for a time, to have proved successful in smothering the embers of dissension, which a breath might have blown into a flame; and, for a season, he managed to preserve the tranquillity of his Government.

The following letter from Mr. Salt to Sir Francis Darwin, gives no very flattering picture of the justice or policy of the late Emperor Alexander.

" Alexandria, Sept. 16th, 1822.

" My dear Sir,

" I have shamefully delayed answering your kind letter; but the truth is, that my official duties daily increase, since the disturbances between Russia and the Porte, which leave me little or no time to dedicate to my friends. It would give me great delight to see you once again in the midst of your Museum at our beloved city; but I fear it will be some time before I shall be able to accomplish my wishes in this respect, as there seems, in fact, but little chance of affairs in Turkey being settled for some time

to come. Everything has hitherto passed very tranquilly in Egypt, owing to the firmness of our Pasha; but we have the misery of seeing daily hundreds of poor Greeks, who arrive on board the different vessels, passing into a cruel slavery. Every nerve has been strained by the European inhabitants, resident here, to purchase and provide for such as happened to come on board British ships; but their means have at length failed, and we are compelled to give up the farther hope of assisting them.

"Whatever our politicians may think of this business in England, it does appear to me that all the European nations have played but a miserable part on the present occasion, and more especially the Emperor Alexander, the pious, the peace-making Emperor, who expressed a wish to see a Bible in the hands of each of his subjects, and yet has barbarously permitted four millions of Christians, professing the same faith, and relying upon him for protection, to be sacrificed to the diabolical vengeance of the Turk.

"It is a fact well known to us, that two years before the insurrection broke out, the emissaries of Russia were to be found in every part of the Turkish empire, but particularly throughout the Archipelago, exciting the Greeks, by every sug-

gestion that could flatter a brave people, to arms. The Greek navy—was it not formed under the auspices and even banner of Russia? what, then, will posterity say of the mighty prince who betrayed them? A year and a half ago the game was in his own hands. Austria was occupied in Italy, and would have conceded any proposition the Emperor might have made; England was employed in arranging her finances, and in bringing into order her almost rebellious population; and France was in too unsettled a state to be able to interfere. Then was the moment for Alexander to have moved forward his army, to have taken possession of Moldavia and Wallachia, and to have
esented himself at the head of a hundred thousand
before Constantinople. The fate of Turkey
n been in his hands, and he might have
s magnanimity by granting that power
than it merited, and yet have secured
e of Greece. Those insolent mis-
s, would in such a case have
respect for the Franks, and
hout a murmur to such
pean powers might
idance; civilization
ced, and Chris-
ut the Levant.

" But how stands the case at present?—Alexander is universally considered here by the natives as a poor spiritless creature, to be bullied out of his point by a few threats; and the Turks have taken a high tone that will soon make a residence in the Levant scarcely supportable to a European. And what thanks does England get for her kind interference?—*None;* she is, they say, a true trader, and knows her commercial interests.

" I have lately taken another tour in the upper country, as far as Assouan, and made some valuable additions to my collection of sketches, which is now become pretty extensive. I found at Philoe an inscription that had hitherto eluded the researches of our travellers, bearing a dedication of a small temple to Esculapius. It seems to have been originally occasioned by the recovery of the son of Ptolemy and Cleopatra Epiphanes from some dangerous malady, as he is also mentioned, which is unusual, in the dedication. There is under it an inscription in hieroglyphics, which evidently corresponds with the Greek; and from this I have been able to make out the name of the Egyptian Esculapius in the hieroglyphic characters, as also the figure by which he was represented as a divinity. * * * * Pray remember

me kindly to the Dean and his family, &c. and believe me to remain, my dear Sir,

" Yours most truly, H. S."

" To Sir Francis Darwin."

FROM THE SAME TO WILLIAM HAMILTON, ESQ.

" Alexandria, Sept. 11th, 1822.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" I beg leave to congratulate you most sincerely on your accession to the high post* which you now occupy, and feel a pleasure in thinking that I may possibly, from your being so much nearer to Egypt, have before long the gratification of seeing you. The unsettled state of affairs in Turkey has hitherto prevented my taking advantage of the leave of absence you so kindly assisted in procuring for me; but I should hope that we are at last approaching the termination of this unfortunate business, as my last letter from Lord Strangford speaks with confidence of peace being likely to be re-established.

" We have felt but little of the shock here in comparison with the other parts of the Levant, the Pasha's conduct towards the Greeks having

* Mr. Hamilton had been sent, about six months before, to Naples in a high diplomatic capacity.—E.

have also the pleasure of 'sitting in judgement,' for the magisterial part of our business in Egypt is of considerable importance, scarcely a day passing over my head that I have not to decide upon some dispute, settle some commercial controversy, or pronounce judgement on some delinquent, occasionally for serious offences.

"You must know, that the office of Consul in Turkey is very different from what it is in Europe; for every stranger, in civilized countries, being subject to the laws of the state he lives under, the Consul has nothing to do but to sign passports, regulate ships' papers, and use his interference with the local government in cases where the terms of the treaty are not complied with; while, on the contrary, in these barbarous regions the Consuls are a sort of Kings. Every Consulate *here* is a little Government, and all those residing in the country are considered to be under its exclusive protection. Once in a way, indeed, the Pasha does presume, on any enormous crime being committed, as killing one of his officers, or such like offence, to cut off an European's head; but otherwise, he leaves every thing that concerns our subjects (for so they are always called) to our *wiser* jurisdiction; so that we have to try causes for murder, assault, and robbery; and to decide

between contending parties, where hundreds of thousands of piastres (a piastre is about fourpence halfpenny in value) are concerned.

"I have, at Cairo, about three hundred of said subjects, Maltese, Ionians, &c. &c. and there are about as many more at Alexandria, who principally are under the rule of the Consul, Mr. Lee, but who have a right of appeal to my superior 'worship' (as Dr. Richardson, in his Travels, calls me) at Cairo. It is a strange system, and one that was certainly never in the contemplation of the Government at home, so that no regulations nor proper rules for our guidance have ever been laid down. We do our best, sometimes proceeding as far as imprisonment, fining, and whipping; but you may be sure we never, however hardened the criminal, or however terrible the offence, proceed to the extremity of hanging. What is chiefly to be regretted is, that even in atrocious cases, as murder, &c. there is no provision for punishing the offender, as an indictment will not lie in England for crimes committed in Turkey, it never having come into contemplation that the government of any country would yield so far as to give up all right over the persons of strangers residing in its territory. You may imagine, under such circumstances, that my life is

not one of idleness; the little time I have to spare besides, is spent in poring over Greek manuscripts, and in the study of Egyptian antiquities, in which, as you know the sort of burrowing faculty I possess, like that of a mole under ground, you will not be surprised at my having made considerable progress. * * *

"One of the most painful subjects of regret that my situation entails upon me, is the little prospect I have of ever joining our old circle; yet, for a short time at least, I do not despair of accomplishing it. The unsettled state of affairs in Turkey prevented my taking advantage of the year's absence accorded me, so that I still have it in reserve, and you may be sure, when once out of Egypt, I shall not return to it without passing at least a month in London; and Brighton in case of your being there, shall not certainly be forgotten.

"My marriage, you will be glad to hear, has been productive of much happiness to me; my wife is very amiable, and strives, by every means in her power, to contribute to our domestic felicity; while our little child is, for her age, *an angel*, full of spirit and intelligence, and promising to be as beautiful as her mother; she is just sixteen months old (on the 1st of October), is named

Henrietta Georgina, has had the vaccine, measles, and has no less than sixteen teeth, which is a '*great* matter' for a child to have got over at so early an age. * * *

Pray remember me kindly to Julia and her husband, and the rest of your family, and believe me, with great truth,

"Your sincere and affectionate friend,

H. S."

"To Miss Halls."

the day of judgement. This lasted for a quarter of an hour, when the earthquake ceased, after having occasioned destruction to the houses and walls of the city: the few that remain being in the most perilous condition. Under the ruins of these houses are buried about fifty thousand persons, Turks, Christians, and Jews, among them Sheik Abdalla el Razah, head of the Mahometan religion, Esra Picciotto, the Austrian Consul, and Musa Derian, grand *Doverier* (head of the Custom-house). The greater part of the buildings for the reception of merchants and travellers were destroyed, and all the mosques met with the same fate. I am persuaded that it will be a very long time before the superb Aleppo can expect to recover the loss it has now sustained. That city has been the principal sufferer from the effects of this terrible scourge, although it should seem that Latakia, Keliz, Huntab, Adelib, Errick, El Maarra, Hamma, and all the neighbouring places have been almost utterly desolated.

The whole population has taken refuge in the fields around the city, exposed to all the hardships of the season, and trusting to the mercy of God, while earthquakes are perpetually occurring, and not a habitable place any longer remains; besides which, nobody has the courage

to go over the city. While I am writing, a porter has arrived from Constantinople with the news that Darkush has been buried in the fall of the adjacent mountain, and the whole country as well as all the inhabitants utterly overwhelmed."

"Aleppo, 21st of August.

"My mind is not sufficiently free to answer your acceptable letter, being still, as it were, stunned by the catastrophe which happened to us during the night of the 13th—14th, which in the space of an hour reduced the beautiful city of Aleppo to a heap of ruins. Providence saved me and my family by a miracle. The victims of the earthquake are innumerable. For these nine days we have been encamped in the gardens in a state of disorder easy to be believed, and every now and then are visited with fresh shocks so violent as to make us tremble."

"Latakia, 30th of August.

"The 13th instant, about two o'clock at night, we were visited by a most terrible earthquake, which lasted for about eight minutes, and in thirteen smart shocks, which succeeded each other with great rapidity, ruined one third of the houses, inflicted serious injury on about as

many more, and did more or less mischief to all the remainder. We thank the Almighty that in so great a misfortune only forty persons lost their lives, and about twenty wounded. Moreover not a cargo is landed that has not sustained some considerable damage."

EXTRACT FROM THE COPY OF A LETTER ADDRESSED TO COLONEL LEAKE, BY H. SALT, ESQ.

(Enclosed in the preceding.)

"Alexandria, September 22nd, 1822.

"My dear Sir,

"I have the pleasure to acknowledge your letter of the 27th of May, and am truly glad to find that you have been persuaded to accept the office of Secretary to the African Association; as it will be very gratifying to me to renew our correspondence, and to afford you all the information in my power from this quarter.

"Our friend Mr. Hamilton seems to have made a slight mistake respecting 'it being my wish that the memoir concerning Belzoni should be published,' as I perfectly recollect, though the copy of my letter is not at hand, that although I left the power of publishing it to him, *should he think it necessary,* I expressed myself anxious to avoid that step, being only desirous

that it should be shown to my valued patron Mr. Yorke, and others of my friends in England, and also, I think, to the Trustees of the British Museum, that they might be able to form a fair judgment of my conduct towards Belzoni, whose ingratitude, I will confess, has given me much pain. But a man of his disposition and character, though he may deceive the world for a time, as he did me, will sooner or later unmask himself and appear in his true colours. The memoir therefore being in your hands, I have to request that it should not be published, but that you will have the goodness to give it over to my agent Bingham Richards, Esq., with instructions in writing not to publish it, but with permission to show it to any of *my friends* he may think right.

" I had the pleasure of seeing Captain Gordon at Cairo in April last, when I procured for him a firmaun from the Pasha, to go up as far as he chose in the interior. * * And though I was not authorised so to do, I gave him permission, knowing how expensive travelling is in that part, and being witness of his general prudence, to draw upon me, if necessary, for any reasonable sum he might stand in need of, being convinced, as I told him, that the Society would

not refuse any necessary assistance in so laudable a pursuit.

" He set off with sanguine expectations from Cairo dressed in a common Arab dress, having already acquired as much Arabic as would enable him to get on without an interpreter. I have since heard of his arrival at Wadi Halfa, where he was in good health and spirits. The Naya Bey stationed at Assouan said, ' he was either a *rogue* or some *very* extraordinary character.' * * * The unsettled state of the country round the territory occupied by the Pasha's armies, and the danger of being taken for a spy, will render his progress beyond that very doubtful. I am afraid too that he exposes himself too much to the sun and night air, relying rather more than is prudent on the rude health which he seems to enjoy; but men who make up their minds to these kind of hazardous enterprises must be left pretty much to their own opinion, for it is not by a known rule, or road, that success can be ensured, and every man prefers his own route to the *Temple of Fame*. * * *

I have forwarded the journal of an American, who travelled as a Mahomedan under the name of Mohamed Effendi, to Mr. Bankes, through Mr. Hamilton of the Foreign Office, which contains

many interesting remarks, as far as Sennaar, and I have also the journal of an American seaman, which I bought for about thirty pounds, who kept the course of the river all the way to Sennaar. This I shall likewise soon be able to send to Mr. Bankes. * * * With respect to any plan to be adopted by the Society for penetrating into the interior above Dongola, or from Sennaar, it is difficult for me to give an opinion. I think, at all events, that it would be worth the trial; but the first duties of any one going on the expedition, should be (by way of seasoning himself) to make accurate astronomical observations along the course of the river (as far as Sennaar perhaps), and in the interior of Kordofan; that being accomplished (and it would be a great point gained, since the Pasha's tenure of the country is very uncertain), it would be for him to judge of the practicability, or not, of penetrating farther. If it were seen that he were a person of capacity, even the Pasha himself might be glad to favour his views, by sending an expedition up the Bahr el Abiad to accompany him, or he might have an opportunity of going with the army to Darfour, as I hear the Deftardar meditates an attack in that quarter. Great care should be taken in furnishing him with proper instruments, and he

should be well versed in the use of the circle, as there is a great portion of the year when the sextant is of no avail, owing to the great altitude of the sun in a tropical region; he should have with him also two correct false horizons, and a small theodolite to take the bearings of the mountains, &c. * * * Believe me, my dear Sir,

"Your's very truly, H. S."

"To Colonel Leake, &c. &c. &c."

At the close of this year I received a short letter from Mr. Salt. It was the last, I believe, he ever wrote to me, at least no subsequent one ever reached me. In truth we were never, during his residence in Egypt, very punctual correspondents, for he well knew that most of his important letters to others would be submitted to my inspection, and that few months could pass without my hearing of his proceedings from some quarter or another. I was myself engaged in the pursuit of an arduous and anxious profession, and moreover, during several of the latter years of his life, I was in the expectation of seeing him in England almost weekly. I now often regret this pause in our communications, for I have reason to believe that there were moments, in the latter period of his life, when letters from me might

have afforded him some relief and consolation in the trying bereavements it was his hard fate to experience. Our friendship, however, was of a nature which neither silence nor absence could shake, and I have the heartfelt satisfaction of learning from Mr. Coffin, that only a few months preceding his death, he mentioned in conversation that his papers were to be sent to me, and at the same time, laying his hand on a large manuscript before him, he said, " This contains a work upon Abyssinia, Egypt, and Arabia, which has employed me for years, and on which I rely for my future fame. It is to go to Halls, for he will do me justice."

This work, with many other papers, was afterwards packed up in several boxes by him and Mr. Coffin, before he quitted Alexandria on his last visit to Cairo, in company with Colonel Craddock, and he gave Coffin directions to see them forwarded to me. On his return, however, to the former place, Mr. Salt was seized with the fatal attack which terminated his earthly career, and was hurried away by his medical advisers on a voyage up the Nile as the only chance of saving his life. In the confusion that ensued, the boxes were forgotten, and were unfortunately left neither sealed nor directed; so that when Mr. Coffin, who ac-

companied Mr. Salt on his voyage, returned after the Consul's decease to Alexandria, he found the papers had been taken from the boxes and scattered in confusion about the floors of the apartments.†

The following is the letter alluded to above.

"Alexandria, Oct. 4th, 1822.

"MY DEAR HALLS,

"I send you a copy of *our first Alexandrian Gazette*, which contains an account of the terrible earthquake at Aleppo and in Syria; later intelligence confirms the same, but estimates those killed at Aleppo at only twenty-five thousand. * * * I have found some paintings in encaustic, 'painted in wax,' of the Greek School, which are very curious. They are no doubt from the pencil of an inferior artist, but show that the painters had then as free a use of the pencil as in modern times. How they managed to keep up the necessary heat‡ to enable them to use the wax so freely, is difficult to imagine. One of these paint-

† I regret to say I have never yet learned any tidings of these papers.—E.

‡ Fire was probably used in *preparing* the materials for encaustic painting, or they were in themselves of an inflammable nature; but there is no certainty of their having been actually *employed* in a *heated* state.—E.

ings on a mummy (painted on thin board), is now in the British Museum, and Mr. Combe, the Keeper of the Works of Art, would, I am sure, have a pleasure in showing it to you. Remember me most kindly to your family, and to all friends in London, and believe, &c.

"Your's, H. S.

"P. S. Perhaps you may mention the encaustic painting to Mr. Fuseli: I am sure it would interest him."

"J. J. Halls, Esq."

During the latter part of this year Mr. Salt seems to have enjoyed a longer exemption from bodily pain and suffering than he had for a long time experienced, as on the 4th of December 1822, he writes to his friend Richards in these terms. "I am happy to tell you that my health is much ameliorated. Since June I have really enjoyed *good health*, such as I cannot boast of having had for some years. It seems to me that the fever I had at Alexandria, and its consequences, have relieved my mind, as well as body, from an oppression under which I had for some time laboured. My lady is likely in May next to bring me an addition to our family. My eldest girl is one of the handsomest and most

engaging children I have ever seen. Remember us kindly to your lady, and believe me, &c.

" H. S."

With the exception of a few short letters written upon his private affairs, which afford no account of his general proceedings, Mr. Salt appears to have forwarded no letters to his friends in England till after the middle of the year 1823, when he addressed the annexed to the Earl of Mountnorris.

" Alexandria, August 15th, 1823.

" My dear Lord,

" I cannot now sit down to answer your long, kind, and very interesting letter, the receipt of which gave me the most heartfelt pleasure. The present is only to mention that I have again written, through Mr. Yorke, to get my leave of absence for a year accorded by Mr. Canning, for the purpose of settling my private affairs, as it has not hitherto been possible for me to avail myself of the one granted by the Marquis of Londonderry, owing to the unsettled state of matters at Constantinople, and the imminent prospect at that time of a rupture with the Russians. For the present all thought of such a war seems to be laid aside, and as Mr. Briggs will be here soon, to whom I can confide the Consulate, I am anxious to be able to leave

Egypt in the spring. My health, thank God, is pretty good, and I feel that I could enjoy the company of my friends, whom I shall see probably for the last time, as there is no chance, I fancy, of my ever being able to live in England; all I can hope for being a retreat, some day or other, should my life be spared, in Italy.

"Have the goodness, therefore, to assist my views about the year's leave of absence with Mr. Canning. I intend to leave my family at Leghorn, but this depends on circumstances.

"Your's, &c. H. S."

"P.S. I hope that Lord Valentia has received the few coins I sent him by Captain Hazlewood, *viâ* Hull. I have a few others, tolerably good, in bronze. I have begun the collection of Nile shells for you, of which I have as yet got only three kinds. I will shortly send them, with some minerals from near the Red Sea, and other things which you desire. H. S."

"To the Earl of Mountnorris."

The leave of absence now applied for by Mr. Salt was readily granted by Mr. Canning, and forwarded to Egypt, but the severe domestic calamities which awaited him, a return of his ill-health, and the disturbed state of public affairs, again prevented the Consul from availing himself

of the permission he had obtained to revisit his native country; and the leave of absence remained unemployed in his possession till the day of his death. In the preceding year Mr. Salt had written to Mr. Coffin in Abyssinia, and had sent him a farther portion of the money that had been placed in his hands by the Earl of Mountnorris for his occasional relief. The letter and money reached Mr. Coffin at Adowa, who acknowledged their safe arrival in two letters, which were enclosed by Mr. Salt in the following to his Lordship.

TO THE EARL OF MOUNTNORRIS.

"Cairo, November 27th, 1823.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I have great pleasure in sending you two letters just received from Coffin, or rather *copies* of them, as the originals would probably puzzle you as much as they have done me.* I am just on the point of setting out with the Pasha to

* Mr. Coffin had so nearly forgotten English that, when he *first* arrived at Cairo in 1827, after a residence in Abyssinia of seventeen years, he was unable to make himself intelligible. He understood what was said to him in English tolerably, but could not recollect words enough to make a reply; he recovered, however, the partial use of his language in a surprisingly short time.—E.

see his new-disciplined troops, which are stationed in the upper provinces. He and I continue on the best terms. I have lately made a cheap purchase for you of a collection of specimens of the granite about the cataracts, many of which have been cut and polished scientifically, and these I shall soon expedite to England. I have not yet heard whether Lord Valentia received his few gold coins, which went by a vessel bound for Hull from Alexandria.

"My health continues pretty good, and my darling little girl now begins to improve apace: she is a very lovely child. We had the misfortune to lose a little girl in March last, who lived only sixteen days. My lady, however, is again in the family-way, so that by next April I hope we may be favoured with a boy. You always smiled at my poetry, but I think you will be pleased with the following lines, written a few days after the death of my little girl.

"TO THE MEMORY OF JULIA SALT, AN INFANT BORN ON THE TENTH AND BURIED ON THE TWENTY-SIXTH OF MARCH 1823.

"Grand Cairo.

"DEAR suffering child, to thee it was not given
"To breathe the balmy fragrance of the spring,
"Nor view, at morn, reviving nature's bloom:
"Open'd thine eyes in agony, not to know

" Thy weeping parents: nor a mother's care,
" Nor all the fond anxiety of friends,
" Could save thy wish'd-for life. Sweet angel now,
" (So to thy father's inward sense thou seem'st)
" Lift up thy little hands before God's throne
" And ask for us that bliss thou there enjoy'st."

" I will write to you immediately on my return, till when believe me

" Ever truly your's, H. S."

" To the Earl of Mountnorris."

MR. COFFIN'S LETTER INCLOSED IN THE PRECEDING.

" Adowa, May 28, 1823.

" SIR,

" I received your letter dated November 25th 1822, conveying the sum of sixty dollars, which I hope God may repay with sixty camels' loads, for I was in great distress on the arrival of it. Sir, you mention having received two ancient coins of Abyssinia, that Werkie gave you; I shall try all in my power to get you as many more as I can, and send them to you, or anything else that may please you. I shall come to you myself, if it may please God to let me reach you, in the course of six months after this. If you think proper, please to send me word by the first opportunity; for there is nothing but wars and troubles in this country for the last seven years past. I have been taken five times in their

battles.* Had I only got five hundred soldiers of our countrymen, we might take all the country hat the Ras formerly governed. The servant girl Cullum, belonging to Pearce, arrived here safe with Werkie, and is a very great lady in Adowa.—N. B. Werkie sends his salaams to you, and believe me to be your most humble servant,

"W. H. COFFIN."

"H. Salt, Esq."

"Adowa, May 28, 1823.

"SIR,

"Ayto Subegadis received your spy-glass and was very much pleased with it. He also begs me to send you this, telling you he will forward you some elephants' teeth and a mule soon after this. He also begs me to tell you to send him some crystals, or anything else you think will please him. Sir, if you send him anything, send it to the care of Werkie; or anything else that you may send to me, send it to the care of Ayto Werkie, Adowa. Your most humble servant,

"W. H. COFFIN."

"H. Salt, Esq."

* And he might have added, received several severe wounds in different actions. How he recovered from some of them, the scars of which he showed me when in England, in such a country as Abyssinia, and without surgical aid, I cannot conceive.—E.

ADDED BY MR. SALT TO THE PRECEDING.

"My dear Lord,

"This is the second portion of your present that Coffin has received, and you may be assured I will continue to let him have what is necessary, and to provide for him, in some way or other, should he come here. If he sends any coins, they shall of course be for you. I will soon forward him a passport, as I did to Pearce, and as I have managed to establish a regular agent at Jidda, that is, one acknowledged by the Turkish Governor having the Pasha's Bayurdé, I feel assured he will get here in safety. I do not know whether I mentioned to you that, as Werkie went hence, he was taken by the Tor Arabs, who were fools enough to rebel against the Pasha; but the moment they found he was under British protection they sent him back, with every article he had, safe to the beach opposite Suez, where my agent old Mandi, whom you remember, received him. H. S."

"The Earl of Mountnorris."

CHAPTER IX.

Mr. Salt's severe trials in the year 1824.—Death of his Wife in child-birth.—Particulars of that event in a letter to his sister, Mrs. Morgan.—Salt thinks of visiting Europe.—Composes a poem entitled "Egypt."—Sends to England for publication an essay on Hieroglyphics.—His letters to Mr. Richards.—Epistle to Mr. Hamilton on the subject of Champollion's explanations of the hieroglyphics.—Mysteries of Egyptian lore.—Further letters to Mr. Richards.—Letter to Miss Jane F. Morgan.—Salt's collection of Antiquities at Leghorn.—Letter on the subject of an offer for them by the King of France.

THE year 1824 proved one of severe trial to Mr. Salt, and the melancholy events which rapidly succeeded each other, in the short space of a few months, were enough to have overthrown a sterner mind and less affectionate disposition than he possessed. The complaint which had so long preyed on his constitution had weakened his bodily and, perhaps, impaired his mental energies; and many vexatious circumstances, which combined to harass and distress his feelings, but ill prepared him for the heavy calamities with which

he was about to be visited. He lost in the spring of this year his young and affectionate wife in child-birth; her infant died a short time after, and, in a few months his valued and excellent friend Mr. Lee, the Consul in Alexandria, was added to the melancholy list.

These scenes of affliction will be best told by the annexed letters, written to several of his friends at this sad period, and will serve to show the amiable feelings of his heart, and the patient resignation with which he submitted to these severe bereavements. The first account of Mrs. Salt's death is contained in the succeeding paragraph of a letter to his friend Richards written soon after her decease.

"I am but in a bad state to write, and must therefore conclude. This you will not wonder at, when you hear that it has pleased Almighty God to afflict me with the greatest of all calamities—my dear, my beloved wife has been torn from me, by a puerperal fever, five days after child-birth. I myself have been and am still very ill; but bear up as well as I can, for the sake of my children. You will, I know, feel for me; no one was ever more happy than I was in the affections of a wife: but God's will be done. "Your's, &c. H. S."

"Alexandria, May 2nd, 1824."—"To B. Richards, Esq."

FROM THE SAME TO HIS SISTER, MRS. MORGAN.

" Alexandria, June 16th, 1824.

" My dear Sister,

" You will probably have heard, before the receipt of this, from B. Richards, the sad blow with which it has pleased God to afflict me. My beloved wife, after bringing forth a little girl and being perfectly well the first day, was seized with a puerperal fever on the third, and died on the fifth: this happened on the morning of Good Friday, and has left me in a state of misery and desolation. The dear child, too, is since dead; and I have now only my beloved child Georgina, three years old, to console me. I was before unwell, and have since been very ill, and still continue far from well, being much reduced and scarcely capable of walking for ten minutes together.

" There were circumstances that attended the death of my dear wife which render it doubly a source of affliction. The lying-in happened during the time of the plague, (of which from two hundred to two hundred and fifty died daily,) and the medical man who attended her (this was at Cairo) was called away, a few hours after her delivery, by *his* wife being seized with the plague;

so that my wife was left without her usual medical aid, it being utterly impossible, with the plague in his house, that we could permit him to return. Another surgeon came, but was frightened, thinking we might also be infected, and so mistook the complaint my wife was attacked with for a gastric fever, and his medicines of course hastened the catastrophe. The child also was put to a nurse from necessity, and her child died of the plague, which occasioned the removal of my little one to another. This second nurse had no milk, and it was forced to be given to a third: all these changes brought on its death.

"The surgeon who first attended my wife died himself about twenty days after of the plague, and all his family, except the wife who was first attacked. Such are the horrible effects and ravages of this dreadful malady! I was soon afterwards, at great risk, brought down by another surgeon, who came to attend me, to Alexandria, where I am still remaining. I am now going to send away my child Georgina, with her grandmother, whose affliction you may easily conceive, to Leghorn, where her other daughter resides, and I hope myself to be able to leave this for Europe towards September.

"It is impossible that any one could die with

more piety and resignation to the will of God than my lost angel. Her last words were to the doctor, who begged her to take comfort, for that she would soon recover—'No, I know I shall die; but, sinner as I am, I trust that God will in his mercy take me to himself!' This was after recommending dear Georgina and her mother to my protection. She was, I assure you, one of the most perfect beings I ever knew, her whole happiness being placed in her husband, mother, and child. She had long before her death a presentiment that she should die young, saying to me frequently, 'When I am gone, who will take all this care of you?' And when I have answered that she would, I trusted, live long after me, she has replied, 'No; I know that I shall die young.' But we must submit to the will of God, since he does, no doubt, all for the best. Remember me to all friends, and believe me to be, my dear Sister, Yours, &c. H. S.

"P.S. Kind love to Mr. Morgan, who will, I am sure, feel for me as much as yourself, who know how these things weigh me down."

"To Mrs. Morgan."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE SAME TO B. RICHARDS, ESQ.

" Alexandria, July 3rd, 1824.

" DEAR RICHARDS,

* * * * " Since the change in my family, I am only anxious about my child, (for the last it has pleased God also to take from me,) and under all circumstances, should anything occur to me, she will not be ill provided for, taking into account a reversion she is entitled to besides what I can leave her. I am considerably better, but still in a poor way. The shock has been a dreadful one. In itself the loss was enough to have overset a man that loved his wife as I did; but it was also attended and indeed occasioned by circumstances that rendered it doubly difficult to bear. Nothing could be more successful than the delivery—both mother and child were well; when suddenly her medical attendant, Dr. Cimba, was called away by his wife being attacked with the plague, then raging at Cairo. On the third day some symptoms of fever appeared, when I wrote to Cimba, who persuaded by letter another surgeon, Dr. Martini, to visit us. This man came in a state of great alarm, supposing the plague was in our house, and evidently in his report to

Cimba gave a wrong character of the disease; so that they both agreed that it was a *slight gastric fever*, for which appropriate medicines were ordered. The attack, however, being that of a puerperal fever, these only added to the disease, and, on another medical man being called in, it was too late to apply the proper remedies. Dr. Cimba soon after fell a sacrifice to the plague, as well as every member of his family, except the wife; and thus, through the existence of this dreadful malady around, and the difficulty—nay, impossibility of obtaining good medical aid, my wife fell a sacrifice.

"Nothing could exceed the resignation and piety with which she resigned herself into the hands of her Maker. She was indeed a pattern of everything that was good, making her whole happiness consist in faithfully discharging the duties of a daughter, wife, and mother: at her death she was scarcely twenty. * * * My infant child, too, fell a victim to the same combination of circumstances; her nurses were obliged to be repeatedly changed, and these changes were at last fatal. God protect you, dear Richards, from such a trial! my resignation to his will has alone enabled me to get over it. "Yours, &c. H. S."

On the eighth of September 1824, he again wrote to Richards, and, from a paragraph contained in the letter, he seems once more to have had serious thoughts of visiting Europe. "I am," he writes, "tolerably well recovered, and shall leave this for Cairo in a few days, to prepare for my departure to England; but I am in some measure dependent upon Briggs, for I cannot trust any one else to supply my place in Alexandria. This circumstance may, perhaps, keep me in Egypt till the spring."

The sudden death of Mr. Lee, however, which happened about this period, again forced him to postpone his design. To divert his attention from the melancholy thoughts that depressed his spirits, Mr. Salt this year wrote, and privately printed in the Alexandrian press, a descriptive poem entitled "Egypt," which is given hereafter. It is by no means a finished production; but the mournful circumstances under which it was written, and the meditative and disconsolate strain which pervades the poem, it is hoped may disarm the severity of criticism. About this period, also, he sent over for publication an Essay on Hieroglyphics, which he thus notices in a letter to Mr. Richards:—

"Alexandria, Sept. 19th, 1824.

"MY DEAR RICHARDS,

"I have sent home, through the Foreign Office, addressed to Mr. Yorke, whom I have requested to consign it to you, an Essay on the phonetick Hieroglyphics of Young and Champollion, with plates; and though I find that, owing to the delay occasioned by my late misfortunes, I have been forestalled in many of my observations by a recent work of Monsieur Champollion, yet I am anxious, for various reasons given in the postscript, to get it as quickly as possible to the press. Mr. Valpy, the bookseller, might, perhaps, be induced to publish it, or to take an interest in it; but at all events I wish it to be *immediately* printed, even should it cost me a hundred and fifty pounds: I beg you, therefore, to do me this favour, and I will send the necessary funds. Of course I should be better pleased to get it printed for nothing; but, as it is the sort of work that is not likely to sell, this is not to be expected. The plates should be engraved on stone, which will answer admirably for such engravings, and the text may be printed in an ordinary way in duodecimo. I beg you will not let any advice or reasoning of friends induce you to delay this commission: I will in a subsequent letter give you a

list of those persons and public bodies to whom I wish copies to be sent. Should L—— be with you, he will do me the favour to correct the engravings, as he is a perfect master of the hieroglyphics. If an opportunity should occur, you may be able to show the MS. to Mr. Bankes, and perhaps he may be good enough to give me a few notes. I send home by this ship a leather case containing duplicate drawings by Mr. L——, which he left in my hands. He is indebted to me upwards of £100, which I should like to get paid; but I would not on that account keep back from him the drawings, so that, if he should desire it, you had better make them over to him.

"I have had another sad shock in the sudden death of my friend Mr. Lee; his kindness saved me in my late cruel afflictions, and I have now to render the same good offices to his widow and family. Yours, &c. H. S."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Alexandria, Nov. 6th, 1824.

"My dear Richards,

"I have sent you by the Henry, Captain Fenwick, a small box containing fifteen copies of a little poem, in each of which I have written the name of the friend to whom I wish it to be presented. I have also cut them all open, as I con-

ceive it may lighten the duty. I have not printed it with my name, but as 'a traveller,' nor will a single copy be sold, as I do not wish to be overhauled by the critics; you will, therefore, not say that you *know* it to be written by me, but leave it in dubio. * * * * Pray tell Lord Morton that I have another fine horse and a mare, the latter the tallest of the race I have seen, to send him. The Pasha has not yet given me the two he said he would, and though, according to the old adage, I put 'little faith in the promises of princes,' yet I believe they will be forthcoming at last.

"I see, by your kind letter of the 31st of August, that you had not then heard of the death of my last little one. I have now only my dear Georgina, who is a very charming child: she is about three years old, very intelligent, and much resembling her mother. I have sent her with her grandmother, Mrs. Pensa, to Leghorn, and they are living with Pietro Santoni and his wife, who all doat on the dear child: that she will be taken care of I have sufficient proof in the education of my beloved wife, who never left her mother. You will have heard of the recent shock I have had in the death of my friend Mr. Peter Lee, Consul in Alexandria, after only ten days' illness, leaving a wife and children with little or

nothing to live upon: I have before recommended them to your kind offices, if they should have need of them. It has seldom happened to any one to see together two such happy families as ours were, as far as depended on domestic harmony, and both to be thus broken up!—Patience! patience! I am now in possession of the Alexandrian Consulate till a successor shall be named, and find it by no means an agreeable post, the duties being more like those of a Bow-street magistrate than any other Christian office: gales of wind daily, and *gales* among the seamen and captains—I have no less than seven seamen in prison at this moment.

"Yours very truly, H. S.

"P.S. Captain Chapman is here, a lively, pleasant, talkative companion. He will be able, on his return, to give you a pretty correct account of the difficulties attending the export of cotton, as far, at least, as ship-masters are concerned."

"B. Richards, Esq."

FROM THE SAME TO WILLIAM HAMILTON, ESQ.

"Alexandria, Oct. 4th, 1824.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have two letters by me which I had begun for you, but had not the heart to go through with: the blow under which I have suffered having ren-

dered it painful to me to address, above all, those friends who would, I know, feel a kind interest for me in the midst of my misfortunes. Before this time I had hoped to be with you at Naples, and to have had the delight of introducing to you my beloved wife; but God had determined it otherwise, and nothing is left to me, but to continually deplore her loss. My child too, the only one left me, I have been obliged to part with, having thought it right, that she might no longer be exposed to the danger of this detestable country, to send her to Leghorn, where she has happily arrived with her grandmother, Madame Pensa, and they are now living there with the family of Mr. Pietro Santoni, who married my wife's sister. My little girl is very advanced for her age, being only three years old, and promises to be as beautiful as her mother: may she be but half as good and amiable!

"I have, only a few days back, had all my wounds torn open afresh, by the sudden death of my friend and colleague Mr. Peter Lee, to whose kind attentions I owe, in a great measure, my recovery from the deplorable state into which I had fallen; and I have the misery of seeing Mrs. Lee and five children left almost destitute, unless the Levant Company should provide for them,

which has never shown itself very favourable to the deceased. I have the pain also to lose their society, as we have thought it best that they should proceed direct to England. So that I now feel myself left without any one whom I could look to for consolation, in case of need, or whom I could call a friend in the country, and, what is very annoying, I am by this event compelled to give up all thoughts of quitting Egypt for the present, notwithstanding that Mr. Canning had confirmed my leave of absence, and that a change of climate, for a time, had become so necessary to my health. Patience! all is doubtless for the best.

"I am happy to tell you, that my affair with the British Museum has turned out better than I expected, though the Trustees have behaved shabbily enough throughout the whole transaction. They gave me, some time back, two thousand pounds for the whole of my collection! with the exception of the sarcophagus; but this, I am glad to say, I have since sold for two thousand pounds. And Mr. Bankes writes me word, that he feels certain of getting me from Parliament, next Session, another thousand pounds;* as he has already tried his ground, and finds both Ministers

* This, as will be hereafter shown, was not obtained.—E.

and such Trustees as are in the House, inclined to accede to the proposition.

" You will be surprised to hear that I have become a complete convert to Mons. Champollion fils' system of explaining the hieroglyphics. In March last I took up the matter seriously, with his ' Lettre à Mons. Dacier' before me, and determined to see whether there were anything in a system that had made so much noise in Europe, yet which appeared to me so absurd. As I advanced, with all my sketches round me, I soon began to find that I had been wrong in ridiculing it, and that this phonetic alphabet was not only applicable to the Roman and Greek Conquerors of the country, but also to the Ethiopian Sovereigns who had ruled over Egypt, and I found out the names of ' Taraka,' mentioned by Isaiah as the King, ' who came out to fight against Sennacherib,' which is frequent at Meroe, as Mr. Linant afterwards showed me, and those of Sabaco, the So of Scripture, and Zerah, as well as many of the names of its ancient kings, as those of Nechao-Psammiticus, Ochyras, Osorchon, Amenummee, Amenoth, Rameses Me Amun, and Rameses Thothmosis, besides several names of their Queens.

" I also found clear proof, in the hieroglyphics of a mummy case with Greek inscriptions, now in

the Museum, that the phonetic alphabet applied to names of private individuals, there being the name of 'Soter' clearly to be made out upon it, and three times repeated under the name of Osiris, as Dr. Young had suggested the names of individuals to be found in most papyri, which corresponds to the Greek name of the deceased whose mummy it contained, the inscription running thus, Σωτηρ Κορνηλιου Πολλιου μητρος φιλουτος αρχων Θηβων †. I also found it applied to the gods, from many names of different deities collected in Upper Egypt; and especially to one which I had ascertained to belong to the Egyptian Esculapius Ιμουτος, as was proved by a corresponding Greek inscription, which was discovered by me in the façade of a small temple I excavated at Philoe.

" These discoveries led me to draw up a short essay on the subject, which was finished as to the matter, but wanted recopying and correcting, previously to my illness and misfortunes. In the mean time I find that Mons. Champollion fils has published his 'Précis du Systême Hieroglyphique,' &c. and forestalled a great part of my observations; but, as we arrived at the same conclusions from such different modes of deduction, mine being entirely drawn from my own sketches and

observations on the spot, it seemed to carry so strong a confirmation of the correctness of both the one and the other, that I have determined to persist in the publication, and I have therefore sent it home to be printed, and will not fail to direct my agent to send you a copy as soon as it is out of the press.

"Our Pasha is getting deeply engaged in the affair of the Greeks. He has expedited hence twenty thousand men for the Morea. They have met with the Capitan Pasha since, after his defeat at Samos, and are gone to renew the attack. I begin to suspect that our Great Man is deceived in the idea he entertains of his influence at the Porte, and that he is, like so many others, only cajoled by it to his ruin.*

The cotton is become a great article of export hence. This year no less than one hundred thousand cantars, which at fifteen three quarters dollars per cantar, gives him the sum of one million and a half of dollars. These form the principal funds for the Greek War. We have now several

* The Pasha was probably still waiting for a favourable opportunity, which has at length occurred, of striking a decisive blow at the Ottoman Government. Former experience must have taught him to place but small reliance on the good faith or amicable feeling entertained towards him by the Court of Constantinople.—E.

English houses settled here, and the affairs of the Consulate in Alexandria are become of considerable importance; hence I have found it necessary, pro interim, to take upon myself the duties of the office. The Levant Company is considered here as on the point of being dissolved. I do not know how far this may be true; but it is certainly a most oppressive tax on the merchants, and of no earthly advantage. Pray let me have the pleasure of hearing from you when you have leisure. If you knew how much pleasure your *Notes* afford, you would not confine yourself to such small paper. Believe me, my dear Sir,

"Yours most truly, H. S.

"P. S. *October* 9th. Since writing this letter I have found a rough copy of part of my private letter written to you, 8th of March 1824, from Cairo. Pray did you receive it? If so, I will thank you to let me have a copy of it, as it *proves* the fact of my having discovered the application of the phonetic alphabet, to the names of the gods and ancient kings, prior to Champollion's last work having reached Egypt; about which some people may be kind enough to express a doubt. Excuse the repetitions in this letter, as I had mislaid the letter of the 8th, and forgot its contents.

"H. S."

"To his Excellency William Hamilton, Esq."

The work on the phonetic alphabet, mentioned in the above letter, was published in London in the following year, and though it does not, in extent, exceed sixty octavo pages, must have been the result of great perseverance and laborious enquiry. It is unfortunate, for the cause of Egyptian lore, that three such individuals as Dr. Young, Mons. Champollion, and Mr. Salt, should have all perished in the course of a few years, and at a period when the *true* light appeared to be dawning on the mysterious objects of their research. They seem, however, to have discovered the genuine road which ultimately may lead others to follow in their footsteps, with happier fortune and more complete success.

The publication of his work on the phonetic alphabet produced, as Mr. Salt had anticipated, no emolument, indeed he must have been a considerable loser by the undertaking, not only from the unsaleable nature of the work, but also from the liberality he evinced in presenting early copies to various learned societies, and to those among his acquaintance and friends who he conceived would take an interest in the subject of the volume. In other respects it appears, by the annexed letter to Mr. Richards, that the publication afforded him considerable gratification, from

the warm and affectionate manner in which some of his friends seem to have expressed themselves on the occasion. The letter, however, gives but a melancholy view of the depressed state of his mind.

" Alexandria, June 18th, 1825.

" DEAR RICHARDS,

" I have just received your interesting letter up to the 6th of May, and am truly grateful for the pains you have taken about my Essay on Hieroglyphics; and, as I know myself the trouble of these things, am fully sensible of the obligations I owe you. I can scarcely venture to tell you the effect one or two of your expressions produced on me, so nervous still is my frame. But the circumstance of * * * and the kind manner in which Mr. Yorke speaks of me, completely overpowered me, and for some hours I was attacked with one of those convulsive fits which all sudden pains or pleasures now inflict upon me. Yet do not think that I am in ill-health; on the contrary, I am in body sound, and am growing unpleasantly fat,—but the wound is within.

" As to *the* thousand pounds, I am in no want of money, thank God; and whether I have it or no, shall not be a bit more miserable or more happy.

"I should much rather look forward to the hope, and your letter has opened to me that hope, of a pension, however moderate it might be; and the thing, if my friends exert themselves, might perhaps be brought about. In Egypt, between ourselves, when the Consulate of Alexandria shall be once in the hands of his Majesty, there will be *little* occasion for two Consuls, especially when the Alexandrian Consulate is filled by Mr. Barker, who is well used to the Turkish diplomacy. Besides, I might be able to offer a certain equivalent.

"I have collected, and my collection is now in Leghorn, antiquities to the value of four thousand pounds: the finest collection of papyri existing, the best assortment of Egyptian bronzes, several paintings in encaustic, and rich in articles of gold and porcelain, — in fine, what would make the collection at the Museum *the choicest in the world,* as an Egyptian collection; and this I would willingly *present* at once to the Museum, could I obtain a pension of 600*l.* like H——, on which to retire.* This, of course, is a very confidential communication, and only to be made known to such friends as —— ——. Could the matter be brought about, I should be a happy man for the

* He would not, as will be shown, have profited *much* by such an agreement.

short term I have to live. I have already fortune enough for my child; and, with a *certain* income, I should be able to live somewhere in Italy, or London perhaps, and employ myself in finishing my sketches, and in arranging my Notes on Egypt, &c. These are probably day-dreams, but your being acquainted with my wishes may be of use.

"I am truly glad Lord Morton seems satisfied with the horses; the letter announcing their arrival has never reached me—only your cursory notice in your letter of the 5th April. I believe our accounts are nearly balanced, and am glad they do not think I have overcharged, for, to tell the truth, the notes containing my account-current have been mislaid, which has much distressed me; but, according to my calculation, I believe we are about at a just balance. It is well I have such persons as Lord Morton to deal with, whose handsome treatment throughout this commission has been most gratifying to me.

"I thought Lord Mountnorris was in Italy; I now forward him four copies of my poem. My cousin Butts' approbation of it has given me great pleasure. Beechey, I think, must have liked Stanza X. and the following ones, as he was with me and experienced something of the same sensa-

tions. I write in haste, as a ship is on departure. Your friendship becomes daily of more value to me; few have begun to be attached so early, or have so well kept up their regard.

" Yours, &c. H. S.

" P.S. I purpose getting to England as soon as Mr. Barker is settled here—*that* might, perhaps, be the best occasion to talk about a pension; I have now been here, you will recollect, ten years, amid plague and all sorts of ills."

" To B. Richards, Esq."

FROM THE SAME TO MISS JANE F. MORGAN.

" Alexandria, June 9th, 1825.

" My dear *little* Girl,

" Your kind and interesting letter from Bangor reached me some time ago; but I have been so occupied with the two Consulates, my own and that of Alexandria, since the death of my valuable friend Mr. Lee, which took place in September last, that I have not had a moment to write to my friends. His successor has not yet been appointed, owing to the Consulates in the Levant having been taken into the hands of Government, so that it is uncertain when I may be able to get away and pay you a visit in dear Old England. My dear child Georgina, the only one living, is

gone with her grandmother, Madame Pensa, to Leghorn, where they are living in the same house with Madame Pensa's remaining daughter, Madame Pietro Santoni, whose husband is a merchant at Leghorn. My little girl is the darling of her relatives, and is taken great care of; I hear continually from them, and am delighted to receive such good accounts of her; so that I feel much happier than if she were remaining here, as she is out of the way of plague, fever, ophthalmia, and all our blessed disorders.

" How often do I long to be among my friends at Lichfield once more, even for a short time, and to see the beautiful spires and to wander about the green fields which I hold so exactly in my memory. I hope the great elm in Mr. Levett's field is still standing, and the willow going to Stow. Your assurance that the old pear and apple trees and mountain-ash are living, gave me great delight. So you have been great travellers —my sister gadding about, *without her husband too;* I see she is like myself, and takes a pleasure in observing the beauties of nature: believe me, after all I have seen, there is nothing in the world that affords such pure and unalloyed delight. I am truly glad to find that you still remain with

my sister, and that you continue so attached to her. It will add much to my pleasure, when I visit Lichfield, to renew our acquaintance, if you still remain what my memory pictures you to have been as my '*little girl.*' But you must all expect to find me strangely altered—quite the old gentleman of forty-five, with a serious face, grey hairs, and an increasing corporation, my health, for some months back, having been better than it has been for years: besides this, you will find me afraid of the cold, very regular and old-bachelorlike in my habits, and fond of having everything comfortable about me. In my heart and feelings, however, I hope you will find me unchanged, still as fond of the simplest pleasures as ever, and placing all my happiness in domestic comfort. At present I am residing in a gentleman's family of the name of Thurburn, as I have no home in Alexandria, and there is nobody to attend to this Consulate but myself.

"It will be a great pleasure to hear from you as often as you will be kind enough to indulge me, and pray let me know whether you are *tall or short, thin or plump, red-cheeked or pale;* your disposition it will be useless to describe, since I recollect it always to have been one of the best in

the world, and in this respect we seldom change. Kind love to my sister and Mr. Morgan, and remembrance to all my friends, and believe me, my dear '*little Girl*,'

" Yours very affectionately, H. S."

The collection to which Mr. Salt alludes in the preceding letter to Mr. Richards was intrusted to the care of his agent at Leghorn, Monsieur Santoni, with instructions that, in the event of an offer of purchase being made by any of the continental governments, he was to give the earliest intelligence of it to the Consul. About the same time, Mr. Salt in a letter to Mr. Richards says, " If you wish to know anything respecting my collection at Leghorn, write to Santoni, who will be able to send you a catalogue; and if we should not succeed in what I mentioned *in my last*, nobody is more likely than yourself to get me a purchaser. It would be a great pleasure to me that it should go to England; but no more of *dealing* with the British Museum—the *Soanes* are the people for me. Yours, &c. H. S.

" P.S. You are aware of the great *great* confidence I reposed in you in my last—not a word of this to *any one* except * * * * * * *, 'as you love me, Hal!' "

The offer here hinted at was, I believe, never in any way signified to Government, as, in about five weeks afterwards, Mr. Salt again wrote to Mr. Richards, as follows, to stop all proceedings, there being a great probability of his being able to dispose of his collection on highly advantageous terms to the King of France.

"July 29th, 1825, Alexandria.

"MY DEAR RICHARDS,

"I have just received notice from Monsieur P. Santoni that Monsieur Champollion has been at Leghorn to see my collection, sent by the French Government with a view to purchase it; that he was much delighted, and that it is likely to be bought at a very advantageous price for my interest. I think it right to apprise you immediately of this, that I may not be compromised in any offer you might make on my part, through my friends, to Government, in compliance with what I have before written to you, as it certainly will not be possible for me, after what I have suffered in England, to sacrifice my interests farther with a hope of any advantages that *might* accrue in that country. Of course it being understood *clearly*, that if any arrangement should have been by chance made before this reach you,

I shall most *strictly* abide by it, and you will in that case, and in that case only, write to Santoni to suspend all treaties for the collection.—This for your information. I send the same in duplicate by Leghorn. H. S."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Alexandria, Nov. 7th, 1825.

"MY DEAR RICHARDS,

"By the present ship I have just time to tell you that I shall send you Lord Morton's account by the next ship, as I have discovered at Cairo all my notes. The only article wanting is a handsome double-barrelled gun in a case, to be sent out, by the first occasion, to Abden Cacheef: this I shall enter in my own account. Fiamingo is just gone up to Cairo to look after a mare which the said Abden Cacheef, lately returned from Dongola, has promised me. My agent, Santoni, is in treaty with the French Government for my *remaining* antiquities at Leghorn, and they seem disposed to pay a good price:—this between ourselves.

"I hear nothing of the Consul for this place, and till his arrival I cannot move. We are rejoiced at the very judicious act of Government in issuing its proclamation of the 4th of October,

as our situation here would have become very critical had some such wise step not been taken.

" Yours, &c. H. S.

" P.S. The new Consular Bill is very consolatory, and particularly to those who have served *ten* years."

" To B. Richards, Esq."

CHAPTER X.

Salt's Sufferings under Disease and Sorrow.—Fatigue of the two Consulates.—Letters to Miss Jane Morgan, Mr. Richards, and Lord Mountnorris.—Disposal of Salt's Collection of Antiquities to the King of France.—Letter on that subject from Signor Santoni.—A troublesome Commission.—Letter to Mr. Richards expressive of Salt's desire to go Home.—His Pleasure at again meeting Coffin.—Affecting Incident.—Salt's last Letter to Mr. Richards.—Salt is again attacked by his Malady.—His Letter to M. Santoni.—Melancholy Intelligence of Salt's Death, communicated in a Letter from Mr. Thurburn.—Some particulars of his Will.

In proportion as I approach the period of Mr. Salt's dissolution, my information with respect to his proceedings becomes of a more scanty description, and the few letters of his with which I am furnished are so short, and mostly so much taken up with matters of a private nature, that I should hardly have inserted them, had they not furnished me with nearly the only means I possess of carrying on the narrative to its melancholy close. In fact, the duties of the two Consulates which en-

tirely devolved upon him, I believe, till very nearly the period of his decease, and the disagreeable and worrying nature of his occupations, left him but little time for the indulgence of his favourite pursuits, and still less to devote to a correspondence with his friends. Almost all his last letters are addressed to Mr. Richards, and the languor of the style, and the faltering hand in which some of them are written, seem to evince, too clearly, that disease and domestic sorrow had nearly done their work on his shattered and exhausted frame.

He appears, indeed, to have been only anxious for the prolongation of life, that he might settle his worldly concerns, and be permitted to revisit his friends and his relatives in that country which he had so faithfully served. In the April of 1826, he again wrote to Miss J. Morgan.

" Alexandria, April 10th, 1826.

" My dear Jane,

" I have to thank you for your last very agreeable letter, and am sorry you stand upon punctilio so much as never to write a second without hearing from me, as I can assure you that your letters afford me great delight, my thoughts being often with my friends, and nothing giving me more pleasure than to hear of their welfare. I

am always in hopes of getting over to pay you a visit; but as yet cannot get released from the Alexandrian Consulate, which I have now held for a year and a half, as well as my own; no successor being hitherto appointed to Mr. Lee. This ties me down, much against my will, to remain where I am.

Why do not you and my sister, as I before begged you, come and pay me a visit. I have an excellent house out of the town, with a garden, and could make your visit very agreeable; and, as I before said, pay all expenses that the voyage might cost. It is a fancy, at least, that often entertains me to think of; but there is no spirit now among the *young* people, as when I was young, and so pray tell my sister. Pray does Mr. Morgan still go on farming, and how many cows does he keep? I sometimes think of our walks to the garden in the fields, and wish I were there once again. A walk to Stow Church, or Green Hill, or Borrowcop, would do me an infinite deal of good.

"And so you could not understand my little work on hieroglyphics? yet, to tell you the truth, I am not much surprised at it, for, being now entirely out of the way of such pursuits, I begin scarcely to understand them myself—quarrels be-

tween captains and seamen, and litigations between merchants, factors, and brokers, are enough to drive everything like literature out of a man's head. My health has been lately not so good as it had been, but nothing serious, only for some days I have been obliged to give up wine and *meat.* Upon the whole, however, Alexandria agrees with me better than Cairo. Remember me kindly to Bessy, Mr. Morgan, and all friends, and believe me,

"Your's very sincerely, H. S."

"To Miss Jane F. Morgan."*

FROM THE SAME TO B. RICHARDS, ESQ.

"Alexandria, April 10th, 1826.

"MY DEAR RICHARDS,

"You will have seen before your last could reach me, that I had already purchased a mare for Lord Morton, and I am sorry to say that since this I am become *burthened* with Dongola mares. Johanni, whom I sent up to Abden Cacheef for a mare he had promised, has not only

* This young lady is the niece, by marriage, of Salt's sister Mrs. Morgan. He took much notice of her when a child, before he left England, and used to call her "*his little girl.*" She has resided with her aunt since she was four years old, and during the latter years of his life she kept up a correspondence with him.—E.

brought me down two sent as a present by that personage, but was also persuaded by him to purchase a third, for three thousand piastres, from one of Adden Cacheef's people; so that I have now, instead of *one*, no less than *four* at my disposition, and what is worst of all, there is so great a scarcity of grain here and of beans, with which we feed our animals, that the expense becomes very heavy in keeping them: I scarcely, therefore, know how to act for the best. As the fine season is now set in, and several vessels on departure, I think of sending two, the best of course, with Giovanni; and the others, I suppose, I must sell to replace the three thousand piastres, so ill-spent, as it turns out, by Johanni. Pray communicate this to Lord Morton; at the same time I fear that there will not be time to receive his lordship's answer. I hope that the plan I have thought of will be agreeable to him, and that he may at least get the mares safe.

"Believe me yours, &c. H. S."

WRITTEN ON THE SAME SHEET.

"DEAR RICHARDS,

"In addition to my letters about the Dongolas, I have to thank you for the pains taken about my little work. The notes you have sent me from

my friends have given me much pleasure. I shall be able to send you a few pages to be added, by way of correction, in a short time, which the work much wants.

" Monsieur Champollion le jeune, who has been treating with my friend Santoni, for the King of France, about my collection, which I have reason to think is nearly concluded to my satisfaction, writes as follows to Santoni. ' Je me suis fait un devoir de lui (Mr. Salt) rendre justice entière, quant à ses travaux archéologiques, dans un de nos premières journaux scientifiques.' Now do you happen to know in what ' Journal' this is to be found? if so, pray send it to me. As to the critique you sent me, it *cannot be* by Champollion, as you suspected, there being several errors in the few observations you quoted to me.

" As you must have a balance in your hands belonging to me, since Lord Morton has settled, I beg you will be good enough to pay it to my account at Messrs. Drummond's, as I am likely to be pressed for *ready cash;* pray do not delay this, as it may be of consequence. I have had no information, or order, respecting this Consulate, and am kept in a most unpleasant state of suspense. My ten years' service are now expired, and I should be most happy if I could get away

from this dreadful place, even on my leave of absence, but much more so on a pension, *however moderate,* if it were possible. * * * Believe me, my dear Richards,

" Yours, &c. H. S."

FROM THE SAME TO THE EARL OF MOUNTNORRIS.

" Alexandria, April 10th, 1826.

" My dear Lord,

" I sent you by the ship Vere, bound to Liverpool, under the care of a gentleman of the name of ' Joyce,' who has gone passenger with his family by that ship, a box with some mummies of crocodiles, one of which is the finest I have ever seen. I beg you to accept them, and shortly I will send something else. I have every reason to believe that my collection of antiquities at Leghorn has been disposed of much to my advantage to the King of France. I am sorry the treatment I. received from the Trustees of the British Museum, prevented the possibility of my sending this fine collection to England. As soon as I know of the sale being concluded, I will let you know the particulars.

" Affairs are going on here, as in England, but badly. The fall in the price of cotton, and the scarcity of the last two inundations, render it diffi-

cult for his Highness the Pasha to find money to carry on the war with Greece; but somehow or other, I have no doubt he *will* raise it for a year or two, at least if the war should be continued so long. It is said here that Missolonghi is actually taken, but we have not got the official news. Such an event would hasten the downfall of the Greeks, a catastrophe that must sooner or later ensue if they are not assisted by some European power.

" I am greatly annoyed by hearing nothing of an appointment for the Alexandrian Consulate. I am kept here much against my will, and to the detriment of the service, as the Pasha now stays entirely at Cairo, and is surrounded by French agents and partizans. I am living too at a great expense, having two establishments to keep up, and that without knowing the wishes of the Government, or how I am to be remunerated for the same. When I shall be able to get away, God only knows; but I am most anxious, I assure you, for the arrival of that happy hour. My ten years were concluded in March, so that now, at least if my friends can assist me, I am *entitled* to a pension; but I fear it may be difficult to prevail on Mr. Canning to do me the favour of letting me retire. Surely all that I have suffered and done in

Egypt entitle me to this indulgence. It will be a happy day when I can again have the pleasure of seeing you in England. Believe me, my dear Lord, "Yours, &c. H. S."

"To the Earl of Mountnorris."

About the time when the above letters were written, intelligence was received that the collection of antiquities alluded to had been finally disposed of to the King of France. Mr. Richards, agreeably to the wishes of Mr. Salt, had written some time previously to Signor Santoni, to learn the particulars of the collection, and the progress, if any, that had been made respecting its sale. To this application, no immediate answer was returned, as Signor Santoni preferred waiting till the treaty, then actually on foot, should be finally completed: as soon, however, as this was accomplished, he wrote a letter to Mr. Richards, from which the following are translated extracts. * *

"I did not answer your letter sooner because I waited till I could say something concerning its contents, which I am now enabled to do, and have the satisfaction to tell you that the papers concerning the sale to his Majesty the King of

France of the collection of our dear friend Mr. Salt, were signed at Paris on the 18th of February. He left this affair entirely to my management, and without giving me any distinct orders as to price, was nevertheless continually soliciting me to complete the sale, writing to me repeatedly that, as long as his acquisitions were placed in such a situation as their scientific merit demanded, he should be content with even less than 150 thousand francs from the purchaser — say one hundred and fifty thousand. In fact, I have now been enabled to obtain for him 250 thousand francs, payable, however, in four years, by equal yearly instalments, to commence the first of July next.

"You may imagine my satisfaction in having been enabled to procure such an advantage, upon a point of interest, for a friend so dear to my heart. If Salt had given me to understand that he required more than 150 thousand francs, my demand would in this case have exceeded 250 thousand francs; and I have no doubt we should have succeeded, because the collection is most desirable indeed in its kind. I have moreover the pleasure of stating to you that this affair has been treated by me, and brought to its end, with all possible delicacy, and although the

name of Salt did not appear in it, all the world knew that he was in fact the proprietor of the museum.

" As to the Directors of your Museum, they have, in truth, conducted themselves very ill, in every respect, with regard to our friend. Salt might well have been to his own country what Champollion is to France. His acquirements and talents are, however, known and esteemed by foreigners. They might well have afforded to be somewhat liberal for the benefit of one who is worthy of the highest esteem, both on the part of his Government and of the whole nation, as is abundantly proved by his admirable conduct in the highly conspicuous station which he occupies. * * *

" Monsieur Champollion arrived here on the 15th ult. charged by the King's ministry with taking possession of the collection; and I have executed the consignment accordingly.

" Signed PIETRO SANTONI.

Leghorn, April 12, 1826."

" To Mr. Bingham Richards."

It is singular that in none of his subsequent letters, with which I have been furnished, does Mr. Salt allude to a transaction that must, in

every respect, have afforded him such heartfelt gratification, and which reflects so much honour on the liberality and discernment of the French Government. Monsieur Champollion, who negociated the business with Signor Santoni, was unquestionably in matters of this nature the very first man of his day, and had he not been well aware of the value of the collection, would scarcely have advised his Government to sanction so munificent an expenditure. "But they do these things, it appears, much better in France than in England." The following short letter from Mr. Salt concludes his correspondence for the year.

"Alexandria, June 10th, 1826.

"MY DEAR RICHARDS,

* * * "I wrote to you before to say I have now got *four* Dongola mares, but, as I see Lord Morton in his last limits me to *one* for his own use, I have determined, as the best for his interests, and as the least expensive plan, to send home only two. One, the very fine one given to me by Abden Cacheef: the second, the one bought for one hundred and fifty dollars by Johanni, which, deducting the one hundred and ten dollars I had passed to account for a mare bought by me, and which I shall now

retain at a loss, leaves forty dollars to be added to the account. The two mares are to leave this place in about ten days, on board the brig Procris, Captain Arnold. I have agreed to pay thirty pounds for each mare: the man to have his passage free; and for the foal the Captain is to have five guineas should it arrive safe in England, and nothing if it die on the passage. * * *

"The Procris is bound to London. The principal mare has been greatly admired, being very high and of the purest breed, black with white legs. The other the same, but not so tall. There cannot be finer got of the Dongola breed. I trust and hope his lordship will be pleased with this arrangement; if not, the mare he leaves must be immediately sold for my account. With respect to the balance now due to me on this final winding-up of the account, I beg you will not press it, but leave it entirely to the parties to settle it at pleasure. The gun you sent remains on hand, as I had been obliged to purchase another before it arrived, as you will see entered into the account now sent you: I have also a mare on hand for which I shall never get the price I paid for it *here*. But all this is nothing if the gentlemen should only be satisfied with what I have done for

them. Nothing in my power has been omitted, but it has been a commission attended with many difficulties.

" Believe me to be your's, &c. H. S."

I have dwelt more fully upon the above transaction than perhaps its general interest required, from a feeling that, in the event of any individuals in future wishing to enter into a like speculation, the present instance would serve as a good criterion to judge of the trouble and expense attendant on such an undertaking. When Mr. Salt first engaged in the business, he entered upon it without any idea of private emolument, and, indeed, so cautious was he of avoiding everything that might wear the appearance of gain, that, as he himself confidentially states, he was a loser by the whole transaction; yet, in spite of the comparative facilities which his situation afforded him of obtaining the animals, in the first instance, the total expense of the whole commission amounted to no less a sum than £1216.

I resume my narrative, which is now drawing nigh to its melancholy close. I cannot exactly tell whether Mr. Salt was ever relieved from the heavy and unpleasant duties of the Alexandrian

consulate by the appointment of a successor to the late Mr. Lee; but I should be inclined to believe from circumstances, that he continued to perform the functions of both the Consulates till nearly the day of his decease; in which case he must have borne the weight of the two offices for upwards of three years. I never heard that he received any remuneration during this period, for his encreased services and necessarily augmented expenditure: but perhaps, had he returned to England, it might have been the intention of Government to have taken these circumstances into its consideration, and to have granted him permission to resign his official situation on a small retiring pension. But whatever might have been the views of the Ministry in these respects, he felt it imperative upon him to remain at his post, in the absence of every one qualified to discharge the duties of his situation at so critical a period. In May he addressed the annexed letter to Mr. Richards, which gives some account of the unpleasant predicament in which he was placed.

"Cairo, May 12th, 1827.

"My dear Richards,

"* * * * * I have been much annoyed by not being able to come home, on account of my pre-

sence here being required during the continuance of the Greek war, and I have made this a reason to beg from Mr. Canning that, when the war shall be once over, I may be permitted to retire altogether on the usual allowances. I hope Mr. Yorke and other friends will assist me in gaining this favour. I am thoroughly tired of Egypt, and have a mass of sketches and notes sufficient to amuse me during the rest of my life, which, after what I have undergone, I cannot expect to be a long one. Lord Mountnorris has not written for a long time, though I have sent him different articles. I hope he will assist in obtaining my leave to retire. At all events I shall come over to you the moment affairs will let me.

"We must expect to pass a stormy summer since the arrival of Lord Cochrane among the Greeks. Should he attack us at Alexandria, the consequences must be very serious, though I trust his Majesty's ships now stationed there through my exertions, may be sufficient to protect his Majesty's liege subjects from any very serious mishap. It is by no means a pleasant situation we are placed in; nothing can persuade the Turks that Lord Cochrane is not acting under orders from Government, and, consequently, we are all looked upon with an evil eye. I shall

be heartily glad when it is over. Egypt is in great distress for money, that is, *actual specie.* Bills are terribly fallen, and the merchants threatened with general bankruptcy.

"Believe me yours, &c. H. S."

"To Bingham Richards, Esq."

About the date of the above letter Mr. Coffin arrived at Cairo, with his son, from Abyssinia, charged with a mission to England from Subegadis, the Ras of Tigré. Mr. Salt had long been in almost daily expectation of seeing Coffin in Egypt, and he received him with his usual kindness and hospitality. Having now been parted from each other nearly seventeen years, their meeting under such circumstances was peculiarly gratifying to both parties, and seemed for a time to renovate the drooping spirits and nearly worn-out frame of the Consul. His altered appearance, however, and debilitated look even at their first interview, greatly surprised and shocked Mr. Coffin, who never ceased urging him to quit his residence in a country which must prove fatal if longer protracted. He appeared conscious of this himself, but he refused to hearken to the advice while he felt he had strength enough left to be of service to the interests of his country.

He took particular notice of young Coffin, then a boy of about twelve years of age, and used often to divert himself by skirmishing with him in the Abyssinian fashion, or in fencing with him with sticks, and in every respect treated him with so much kindness that the boy became nearly as much attached to him as he was to his own father. It is rather an affecting incident, that when the lad happened to call upon me with Coffin in London, about a year after the death of Mr. Salt, he accidentally caught sight of a portrait of the latter, hanging in the room, when, turning his head away, he burst into tears.

The arrival of Mr. Coffin in Egpyt appears to have afforded Mr. Salt the last gleam of happiness he was destined to enjoy in this life; latterly he could not bear to have him out of his sight, and would often exclaim, "Where is Coffin? I like to see his honest Old English face beside me." During his lifetime he continued his uniform kindness and friendship to him, and at his death bequeathed him sixty pounds. After staying for a space at Cairo, Mr. Salt returned with Coffin to Alexandria, whence he addressed this, his last letter, to Mr. Richards.

" July 13th, 1827, Alexandria.

" MY DEAR RICHARDS,

" I had the pleasure three days back to receive yours of the 30th of April, and hope before this that you have received mine from Cairo. I am obliged to you for finishing so satisfactorily the Dongola business, though I am latterly a loser by the concern. I hope the last quota has been settled, but should there be any difficulty about it, I beg you will not press the matter, as I hate quarrels. I am very much engaged at present on account of the Greek war, in which our Pasha is taking so active a part.

On the 16th of June Lord Cochrane, in the Hellas, with twenty-three Greek ships, appeared off our harbour and burned a small brig that had run aground in attempting to enter the port at dusk; but, on the appearance next day of the Pasha's fleet of corvettes only, the frigates not being ready, his lordship and suite retired. In fact, they made a most contemptible figure before this port, and were pursued by the Turkish fleet afterwards to Rhodes. The affair *before* with two Turkish corvettes of twenty-two cannon each, off Zante, does the Hellas little honour. The two corvettes are now here, one of them a Tuniscin and the other of Constantinople, and their cap-

tains have been handsomely rewarded for fighting so well. The Greeks have put in the Malta Gazette that they were "two frigates;" but this I can assure you is a falsehood. They are both corvettes, and not large ones. In fact, I believe Lord Cochrane has little or no command over these gentry, and, I am told by an Austrian commander, has only three hundred and fifty Greeks on board the Hellas, so that she is not in a state to fight. That the whole is not at an end is the fault of the European cabinets. The means were easy.

"A considerable expedition sails from this in a few days for *Hydra*, which I have no doubt will fall; and as Rasched Pasha, with a large force, has joined Ibrahim Pasha, Napoli di Romania cannot hold out long. You may put it down as a certainty, that if the European powers do not come boldly forward, in less than six months the Greeks will no longer exist as a nation. Lane is gone up with a gentleman, of the name of Hay, into the upper country. It may be of use to him, as the latter is rich and an excellent young man. In Lane's praise I cannot say too much; he is very studious, and has made great progress in Arabic, and it would be a service to the country could his talents, on

his coming home, be turned in that direction. He is also very amiable, and lives with all possible economy. I beg you will mention these particulars to his friends; whatever I can do for him is a pleasure. He has given me a few prints by his brother, of whose talents, in lithography, I have a great admiration. Can you procure for me, by purchase, his plate called "Devotion," a young girl kneeling. The finest specimen of lithography I have ever seen. I saw it in the possession of a naval officer, and recognised it to be by Lane, without seeing the name, or indeed being near it. Kind love to all at home. Yours, &c. H. S."

"To Bingham Richards, Esq."

In the latter part of the year 1827, Mr. Salt again sustained another severe attack of the fatal malady that had so long preyed upon his constitution, and from which he never afterwards recovered. About three weeks before his decease, he addressed the annexed letter to his friend and relative Monsieur P. Santoni, at Leghorn, in which he gives some account of his situation, though he does not appear at that time to have been sensible that his end was so nearly approaching.

"Alexandria, Oct. 7th, 1827.

"MY DEAR PETER,

"I just write you a few lines to let you know the state of my health. I have had another of my old attacks, and a very severe one, since August, when I was obliged to go up, during the great heats, to Cairo; but I am, thank God, a little better. The disorder still continues, and I am still very weak; but it is, I hope, with great care and strict diet, gradually going off. This has finally determined me not to protract my stay here, under any considerations, beyond April next, and this by the advice of several medical men, who have given me certificates to that effect. I have sacrificed myself sufficiently for the Government, and now can be of little more use to them here. I therefore *most certainly* leave this, for Europe, in April next, if not before. The collection* leaves this to-day with Captain Montes—you will do the best you can in the sale of it. It has cost a large sum, and should not be disposed of for less than one hundred thousand francs. It would suit England

* I have not been able to learn what has become of this collection. If it has been sold on terms of *nearly* equal advantage with the former one, the fortune of Miss Salt ought, in that case, to be *very* considerable.

particularly, as there is all that they want, and it has not that which they have; so pray communicate with Richards on the subject. The catalogue, very exactly made out, will be sent by next opportunity. The collection is a very select one, and rich in interesting objects, as you will soon see. * * * H. S."

This appears to have been the last letter Mr. Salt addressed to any one; for, from this period, his disease took so formidable a shape as to incapacitate him from all exertion, and to extinguish almost every hope of the re-establishment of his health. On the 21st of October, Mr. Thurburn, of the house of Briggs and Co. in Alexandria, wrote as follows to Monsieur Santoni:—

"I am much concerned to have to tell you that our worthy friend, Mr. Salt, has been suffering much of late from internal hemorrhoids, which had reduced him so low, as to induce the medical men to advise a change of air as a last resource: in consequence of which, he set out last Thursday week for a village on the Nile; but I am sorry to say that there has as yet been very little improvement in his health, and should he recover his strength, he will be under the necessity of removing at once to Europe."

This unfavourable account was shortly followed by a letter from the same quarter, announcing to Monsieur Santoni the sad intelligence of the death of Mr. Salt:—

"Alexandria, Nov. 4, 1827.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"The few hasty lines I wrote to you on the 21st of October, will have in some measure prepared you for the melancholy tidings I now have to communicate to you of our worthy friend's death. After suffering considerable pain for several days, Mr. Salt expired on the morning of the 30th ult., when it was discovered that the hemorrhoids, from which he had been suffering for nearly two years, were only the *symptom* of a more formidable disease of the spleen, which was found in a very advanced stage of gangrene, without any external indication of that organ being affected, except a very few days before his death, when he complained, for the first time, of a pain in his left side. His death, as you may imagine, has excited universal regret here, and has been felt as an individual loss by the Pasha, and by all the Europeans. In my family it has left a void which will, I fear, never be replaced, as he was the only person in Egypt with whom we lived on terms of sincere and cordial friendship.

"On examining his papers it was found that

his Will had been made so far back as September 1824, with several subsequent additions; and during his last illness he made several dispositions, which are noted in due form. I have not time to transmit you a copy by this conveyance; but it shall be forwarded by the next opportunity. In the mean time I may mention for your information, that the bulk of his property is left *in trust* to Mr. Henry Arthur Broughton, solicitor, in London, and to Mr. Samuel Briggs, for the use and benefit of his daughter, Georgina, with directions to his said trustees to provide for Madame Pensa, and to leave the child under your management so long as she remains at Leghorn. By a codicil to his Will, he authorises me to act during the absence of Mr. S. Briggs from Egypt, and latterly he has requested Mr. Gerard Schutz to assist in the arrangement of his concerns in Egypt. Whatever moveable property is here shall be realised without delay; but his two houses and gardens will, I apprehend, be difficult of sale, unless at a considerable loss; and one of them will not readily find a tenant at a reasonable rent, from having the reputation of being unhealthy during the autumn and winter seasons. * * *

"Yours, &c. R. THURBURN."

"Signor Santoni, Leghorn."

The three last communications were inclosed in a letter from Monsieur P. Santoni to Mr. Richards, of which the following is a translation :—

" Leghorn, Dec. 14, 1827.

" My dear Sir,

" You will probably already have heard the melancholy intelligence which I communicate to you. Heaven has doomed us both to suffer a dreadful loss. You have been deprived of a friend, and I of an affectionate relative. Our much-loved and excellent Salt breathed his last on the 30th of October, at a village near Alexandria. Figure to yourself my consternation and my grief in having to make so sad a communication to his poor daughter Georgina, now an orphan. Great as were the marks I have received from the deceased of his sincere friendship for me, I assure you that I should now be more happy if I had never known him—I should not then suffer what I now suffer—no time will ever make me forget his loss. Good society has lost a most valuable member, a true example of moral excellence; in learning equal to the best informed, and ever alive to the misfortunes of others. Your Government also has sustained an equal loss. His habitual conduct in Egypt, and the esteem and veneration he enjoyed

from the Pasha downwards, sufficiently prove it. I transcribe below three letters received almost at the same time, one of them from Salt himself, written throughout with his own hand. Let us now comfort ourselves with the reflection that one so dear to us has gone to enjoy his reward in another world; but in the mean while we have no longer the hope of embracing him here. Excuse the liberty I have taken, and accept the assurance of my sincere esteem and affection.

"Yours, &c. PIETRO SANTONI."

"To Bingham Richards, Esq London."

CHAPTER XI.

Mr. Coffin's account of the last illness and death of Mr. Salt.—Post-mortem examination.—The funeral.—Monument and epitaph.—Summary of Salt's character, and of the leading events of his life.

THE following account of the last illness and death of Mr. Salt was given me by Mr. Coffin. I wrote it down at the time from his own words, and I afterwards read it slowly over to him to avoid the possibility of any mistake.

When he first arrived in Egypt he found Mr. Salt in a very declining state, though still capable, in some degree, of discharging the functions of his office. In this condition he continued till his last fatal attack, which so fearfully reduced him, that his *immediate* removal from Alexandria was considered indispensable by his medical attendants, and he accordingly set out up the Nile, for the village of Dessuke, and took up his residence during a space of twenty-two days, at the house of the Aga of that place. He was accompanied by

Mr. Madden, Mr. Coffin, and others, who remained with him till the hour of his decease.

For a short period after his arrival, some faint hope was entertained of his recovery; but about five or six days previously to his death, a change for the worse took place, which left little doubt of the fatal result of his complaint. He daily became weaker, and every succeeding hour his disease appeared to assume a more alarming shape. He grew conscious himself of his approaching end, though the vital principle seemed still strong within him. During this period, he passed his time in calm conversation on religious and other topics with Mr. Madden, Mr. Coffin, and some others, Mr. Madden frequently reading parts of the New Testament to him, a copy of which Mr. Coffin had fortunately brought with him, which he constantly carried about him in all his wanderings in Abyssinia, ever since Mrs. Rudland had presented it to him at Mocha, early in the year 1812.

A few days before his death Mr. Salt became occasionally delirious, though still the power of life continued so strong within him that he sometimes rallied in a manner which induced the hope of his ultimate re-establishment. This hope, however, was of short duration. He was attacked by a dreadful fit of delirium, more violent than any

that had preceded, and all expectation of his recovery was once more despaired of. The Greek servant Yanni and an Arab servant, who had been set to watch Mr. Salt, had both fallen asleep, when he arose from his bed, and with almost superhuman strength, found his way into the next room, where Mr. Madden and Mr. Coffin were lying. He walked to the farther end of the apartment to a bench, on which the former was sleeping, and sitting himself down on the body of that gentleman, locked his fingers in his beard, shouting out at the same time, "Doctor! doctor! is this a time to sleep?" Mr. Madden, in great alarm, immediately awoke Mr. Coffin who was sleeping on a mattress on the floor, and who directly arose to assist in separating them, and to endeavour to persuade Mr. Salt to return to his chamber; but he still held fast by Mr. Madden's beard, calling out, "Get the boat ready, and let us immediately be off, or throw me into the water."

After much persuasion and struggling, he was at length separated from Mr. Madden, who lost part of his beard in the scuffle, and, the delirium subsiding, he was after some time induced to let himself be supported by Mr. Madden and Mr. Coffin to the mattress, as no possible arguments could then prevail upon him to re-enter his bed-

to have been of a doubtful character, it was judged best that Mr. Madden, and some foreign medical gentlemen, should open the body in order to ascertain the seat of the complaint; and it was accordingly, on the following day, taken into an adjoining room and opened, when it was found, as Mr. Madden had all along suspected, that the spleen was alone diseased, the rest of the body being in a remarkably perfect condition. When the operation was finished, Mr. Madden called Mr. Coffin into the apartment, and pointed out to him the part affected, which the latter informed me looked like a small dark spot with a channel opening into the intestines.

The body was then again removed into the hall, where it remained till its interment. It was afterwards temporarily buried in the shell till farther arrangements could be made, in the late Consul's garden, and a procession came to attend the funeral, consisting of the different friends of the deceased, the European Consuls, and the officers and seamen of his majesty's ship Pylorus, &c. The body was borne to the grave by several Englishmen, and a salute was fired over it by the marines of the Pylorus, after the funeral service had been read by the Rev. Mr. Christian Keugler, a missionary.

From the first intelligence of Mr. Salt's death

to the period of his interment, the flags of all European nations in Alexandria were hoisted in the city, and every possible mark of respect was shown to the memory of a man who during his life had been the object of so much general esteem and regard.—A monument was subsequently erected to his memory, on which the following inscription is engraven, written by his friend and cousin, the Rev. Thomas Butt, of whom mention has before been made in the course of this narration :

" Here sleep the mortal remains of
Henry Salt, Esq
A native of the City of Lichfield,
His Britannic Majesty's Consul-General in
Egypt.
Twice he penetrated into Abyssinia,
with the hope of restoring the long-broken intercourse
between the Nations of Europe
and that barbarised Christian Land.
His ready genius explored and elucidated
the Hieroglyphics and other Antiquities
of this Country.
His faithful and rapid pencil,
And the nervous originality of his untutored verses,
conveyed to the world vivid ideas
of the scenes which delighted himself.
In the midst of his important duties and useful pursuits,
he was, in the forty-eighth year of his age,
and after a short illness, summoned, as we trust,
to his better and eternal home, on the
twenty-ninth day of October,
in the year of our Lord 1827.

His only child, Georgina Henrietta,
has been permitted to appropriate this Garden
to the interment of European Christians.

Profane not this sacred ground, where the bodies of
believers in Jesus rest in sure and certain hope
of a blessed Resurrection.*

Thus died, and nearly in the prime of his life, Henry Salt, Esq., his Britannic Majesty's late Consul General in Egypt. From his earliest years he appears to have been endowed with strong natural talents, great penetration, and a breadth of capacity which gave the promise of future distinction. These qualities, in the commencement of his career, do not seem to have been improved or developed by a commensurate education; his mind having been much left to its own irregular impulses. At this period of his life he *devoured*, rather than perused, every book that happened to fall within his reach, but without any methodical plan of study, and seemed to feel a disrelish to the dry rudiments of learning, which if not mastered, in a certain degree, before the dawn of manhood, are rarely to be attained in maturer age. To this general rule, however, he was fortunately an exception, as few men in after life evinced a greater share of

* These last lines are sculptured in the Arabic tongue.

activity and perseverance when occasion called for exertion. The moment he felt the necessity of overcoming a difficulty, it mattered very little to him whether the task were of an enticing or repulsive description; it was sure of being accomplished, and in spite of the natural volatility, perhaps indolence of his character, no temporary sacrifice appeared too great, no study too severe, that could enable him to attain the object of his pursuit.

In this unusual and irregular manner he contrived to improve himself in Latin, and almost entirely to acquire Greek; made himself a competent master of French, Italian, Arabic, &c. and gained a considerable insight into several of the most useful of the arts and sciences. If he discovered a want of energy and investigation in any of his occupations, it was, unquestionably, in that of painting; but this is probably to be attributed more to the dislike he had early taken to the *practice* of it as a *profession* than to any other cause. His imitative powers in the art were very considerable, especially in landscape, in which he displayed great taste, fidelity, and happy execution. Whatever may have been the merit of his poetical talents, they appear to be so justly appreciated in the elegant inscription

engraven on his tomb, as to stand in need of no farther comment.

It is now time to notice the leading events of his life and more prominent features of his character. At the time when Mr. Salt originally entered Abyssinia he was about twenty-five years of age, and, perhaps, for the first time in his life, found himself placed in a situation of great responsibility, with little or no experience to guide his movements, and having nothing to rely upon except his native sagacity, coolness, and personal intrepidity; possessing only a very superficial knowledge of the country he was about to enter, and with still less acquaintance with the language, customs, and manners of its various tribes of inhabitants. The description given of them by former travellers was not of a nature to inspire him with any great degree of confidence, and probably the most favourable result he could anticipate was either a forcible detention in the country, or a safe expulsion from it, without attaining the objects of his mission. Such must, in all likelihood, have been his expectations in entering on his journey; yet, notwithstanding the obstacles he had to encounter (and they were by no means inconsiderable), he contrived to penetrate without accident to the court of the prin-

cipal ruler of the country, to secure his friendship and that of the leading chiefs, and after acquiring much information, and making some valuable historical discoveries, to return, after a few months' absence, to his anxious friends on the coast, bearing with him a letter of amity from the Ras to the King of Great Britain.

On his return to his native country, he first made himself known as an author by the publication of his Journal in Lord Valentia's Travels, which, in spite of the party spirit it called forth, secured him no trifling degree of approbation and distinction. His work, both at home and abroad, was regarded as one of credit and research, and, had he stood in need of a counterpoise to the attacks it was his lot to sustain, he might have found one in the candid admission of a very able, though somewhat adverse writer,* who in commenting on the objections that have been urged against Bruce adds, "Good materials of judging upon the question have been furnished by Mr. Salt, whose *cool good sense* and *strict* veracity make him form an admirable check to the rapid imagination and *étourderie* of his precursor."

Before his Journal was in the press, Mr. Salt

* Mr. Hugh Murray, author of the "Historical Account of Africa," &c. vol. ii. page 92.

was appointed by the British Government to a second mission to Abyssinia, and was obliged, with only a few days' interval, to embark immediately on board a vessel that had been prepared for his conveyance. On this expedition he was absent about two years, and though circumstances, already mentioned, prevented him from fulfilling his instructions to the letter, he nevertheless, by his conduct altogether, gave complete satisfaction to the Ministry, and was handsomely remunerated for his services. Some time after his return he published an account of his second journey, in which he candidly corrects some errors into which he had been led, from the representations of others, in his former work. These are few in number, and are in themselves of no great importance; but his free acknowledgment of them reflects credit on his character both as an author and a man. His style in writing is vivid, nervous, and highly descriptive, while the species of internal evidence that pervades the whole of his narrative, at once interests the reader, and disposes him to place a full reliance on the fidelity of his statements.

Not long subsequently to the publication of his second work, Mr. Salt was appointed Consul-General in Egypt, which opened to him a wider field than had hitherto been afforded him for

the display of his great talents and resources. The satisfactory manner in which he discharged the political and other duties entrusted to his charge is fully evinced by the strong terms of approbation in which Lord Castlereagh speaks of his services in granting him his first leave of absence. By his zeal in embracing every opportunity his situation afforded of discovering and of studying the buried antiquities of Egypt, as well as by his liberal encouragement of every undertaking that promised to throw light on the remote history of that interesting country, he has not only enlarged the boundaries of human knowledge, but has acquired for himself no despicable portion of reputation and renown.

His strenuous and persevering exertions in the cause of literature and research, have reflected credit on his country, and have greatly tended to remove the impression entertained by foreigners, that our official agents abroad are apt to make their public station entirely "subservient to their private interest." The firmness and prudence of his character, his amiable disposition and general suavity of behaviour, gave him an unusual ascendancy over the vigorous mind of the able ruler of Egypt, who rarely refused granting any favour required at his intercession. When taking his rides in Cairo and the vicinity, the Pasha would

often stop his horse at the Consul's door, and pay him the distinguished compliment of entering with him into long and familiar conversation. In fine, by his judicious conduct, liberality, and hospitality, Mr. Salt obtained the affection and esteem of every one around him, and has left a reputation among the European residents and the natives of the country which will not speedily be forgotten.

Mr. Salt was in stature about six feet high, well proportioned, and with somewhat of dignity in his manners and general deportment. His countenance was manly and open, and its habitual expression remarkably pleasing and intelligent, though at times it could assume an aspect of great sternness and determination. It formed, indeed, the complete index to a mind which overflowed with goodwill and charity to his fellow-creatures, and was equally distinguished by firmness and placability. His untimely loss will long be deplored by his relatives and friends, and, one among the latter at least survives, whose chequered passage through life is often cheered by the fond, but humble hope, that he may be permitted hereafter to rejoin him in a happier and more perfect state of existence.

An Account of the Transactions between HENRY SALT, Esq. and the TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM respecting the purchase of his Collection of Egyptian Antiquities.

IT has been mentioned before, in the Life of Mr. Salt, that previously to his departure from England to assume the office of Consul-General in Egypt, it had been suggested to him by his patron and friend, the late Sir Joseph Banks, that he should take advantage of the facilities afforded him by the situation to which he had been recently appointed to collect Egyptian antiquities for our great national repository, the British Museum. This suggestion was so congenial to Mr. Salt's own feelings, and to the interest he always took in pursuits of this nature, that he readily embraced the proposal, and had scarcely landed in Egypt before he began to form plans for carrying it into execution, though, in the first instance, his endeavours were a good deal circumscribed from a want of the necessary funds to defray the heavy expenses attendant on researches of this nature.

When Mr. Salt left England, he possessed about 4000*l.* The whole of this amount was, however, by no means available; while the expenses incurred by his journey through Europe, and in establishing himself in the Consulate, left him little to lay out upon extraneous matters. His salary also was nearly a twelvemonth in arrears, which was at no time more than barely enough to cover the necessary expenditure of his appointment; so that he found himself, on his arrival, in very embarrassed circumstances, and was compelled to borrow very considerable sums to meet the heavy demands

upon him, which required immediate liquidation. Thus situated, it became impossible for him to incur any great expense in the pursuit of objects merely of a curious and speculative description; yet, even in these respects, he contrived to accomplish more than could have been reasonably expected from one who possessed his very limited means.

No sooner had Mr. Salt settled himself in his new office, than he sent an agent to Thebes to purchase antiquities on his account, afforded considerable pecuniary assistance to Caviglia in his enterprise at the Sphinx and the Pyramids, and, at the joint expense of Burckhardt and himself, employed Belzoni to bring down the colossal head of Memnon, which they subsequently *presented* to the British Museum. This princely gift, which probably, had it been disposed of to any of the great powers of Europe, would have secured to the owners many thousand pounds, literally remained without any official acknowledgment.

"I wrote," says Mr. Salt in a letter to Lord Mountnorris, August 7th, 1818, "to Lord Castlereagh about the *head;* I wrote to Mr. —— about it, and have never received thanks from the former, nor even a communication of its safe arrival from the latter."

This neglect is the more remarkable, as it appears, from the following extract of a letter of Salt's to Mr. Hamilton, that the original project of removing the head was approved of by Government: — "I am delighted," he says, "to find that our undertaking of the Memnon's head was approved: it is now lying safe under cover in Alexandria, and will, I trust, in a very short time be embarked on board the Minerva transport." May 19th, 1817. — On looking over the lists of antiquities sent from time to time by Mr. Salt to England, I find that the above was by no means a solitary instance of his liberality, many valuable articles being marked as presents to the British Museum.

While Mr. Salt was thus actively, though with straitened means, employed in fulfilling the views and wishes of Sir Joseph Banks, and which had again been enforced by letter, an event happened which enabled him to enter more widely into the business of collecting than his circumstances had hitherto allowed him to attempt. In the May of 1817, by his father's death, he came into possession of about 5000*l.*, which at once relieved him from pecuniary embarrassment, and gave him the command of a considerable sum. Thus situated, and the period being highly favourable for collecting, from the extensive discoveries that had been recently made among the buried remains of ancient Egypt, Mr. Salt was induced without delay to hazard a large proportion of his patrimony, and, taking advantage of the times, to secure for his country an unrivalled collection of Egyptian antiquities, which otherwise must inevitably have fallen into the hands of foreign nations.

After the suggestions which had been given him from so high a quarter as that of Sir Joseph Banks, as well as from others, to collect for the British Museum, he no doubt expected, from the great pecuniary risk he had run, that in the event of his exertions proving successful, he might ultimately count upon receiving some reward for his services, and some addition to the small patrimony he had embarked in the project. At any rate, he did not contemplate that he could be a loser from the undertaking, much less that he would be exposed to unsparing censure for his well-meant endeavours. He therefore entered earnestly on the speculation, and lost no opportunity of procuring the choicest specimens to enrich his collection; so that, by the middle of the ensuing year, he had secured for his country a number of such valuable antiquities as had rarely before been brought together by any other individual.

It was about this period that it was hinted to him, I

believe by the Earl of Mountnorris, that Sir Joseph Banks, in spite of his former recommendation, had changed his opinions on the subject, and had in some degree influenced the Trustees of the British Museum to decline receiving any more Egyptian antiquities. But it was then too late for Mr. Salt to recede, even if he had felt so inclined; for, besides his great liberality to Belzoni and Caviglia, he had expended considerable sums at great risk upon the plan he was the first to suggest and adopt, of *digging* and *excavating* on an *extensive scale* in Upper Egypt and Nubia in search of antiquities, particularly in the operations at Ipsambul, where the *whole expense* of opening the temple devolved upon him; so that he may fairly be termed the pioneer who led the way to most of the discoveries that have been subsequently made.

After having sacrificed so much to obtain a choice collection, the greater part of which was still lying in Upper Egypt, Mr. Salt thought it advisable to write the following private letter to his friend Mr. Hamilton, requesting his advice and assistance as to the best mode of disposing of the various articles which it had cost him so much trouble and expense to acquire.

"Cairo, June 10th, 1818.

"My dear Sir,

* * * "I am truly glad to hear, *vid* Malta, that the *head* has safely reached its destination, the Admiral having informed me that he has received an acknowledgement from the Foreign Office. Your idea of placing it in the *court-yard* is good, but has two objections—the difficulty of preserving it from sun, frost, and rain, which will very soon decompose the granite, as I have seen in many instances, and the difficulty of placing it in a proper light, the whole effect of it entirely depending upon this latter circumstance.

"I am sorry to hear that the Trustees (for I am aware of

Sir Joseph Banks's influence among them) do not wish for more Egyptian antiquities. I have gone to great expense in collecting, chiefly with a view to throw some light on the sculpture of the Egyptians, and have fortunately discovered, by digging, about twenty specimens, not very bulky, that will prove their claim to great excellence in the art, and which satisfactorily demonstrate that the Greeks borrowed the rudiments, if not more, from this extraordinary people. Diodorus indeed attests that the Grecian sculptors began to measure for the first time the proportions of their statues, according to the Egyptian practice, in the time of Amasis, which allows a century for the great progress subsequently made up to the time of Pericles.

"I have also obtained some very fine specimens (unique, I believe) of their sculpture in wood, which they carried to a perfection unknown in any other country. I have two king's statues, as large as life, in wood, such as Herodotus testifies were placed in their tombs; and also some cows, and other animals' heads and small figures, most exquisitely carved of the same material, which are of undoubted Egyptian production during their best period, being found in the Tombs of the Kings of Thebes. Besides these is the sarcophagus of alabaster, *unrivalled* in its delicate workmanship.

"Now if the Government would take these (the latter for the British Museum, and the *statues* for the Royal Academy) at a fair valuation, I shall be glad to put them at their disposition at Alexandria, it being a great object to avoid farther cost in the transport; and it would be easy for the Government to secure their safe passage, at scarcely any expense, by ordering one of the transports coming for corn here, to take them on board. As to the *value*, I would most willingly leave *that* to yourself, or any other persons the Government might appoint to be settled after the arrival of the articles in England. The Conte De Forbin, when here,

believe by the Earl of Mountnorris, that Sir Joseph Banks, in spite of his former recommendation, had changed his opinions on the subject, and had in some degree influenced the Trustees of the British Museum to decline receiving any more Egyptian antiquities. But it was then too late for Mr. Salt to recede, even if he had felt so inclined; for, besides his great liberality to Belzoni and Caviglia, he had expended considerable sums at great risk upon the plan he was the first to suggest and adopt, of *digging* and *excavating* on an *extensive scale* in Upper Egypt and Nubia in search of antiquities, particularly in the operations at Ipsambul, where the *whole expense* of opening the temple devolved upon him; so that he may fairly be termed the pioneer who led the way to most of the discoveries that have been subsequently made.

After having sacrificed so much to obtain a choice collection, the greater part of which was still lying in Upper Egypt, Mr. Salt thought it advisable to write the following private letter to his friend Mr. Hamilton, requesting his advice and assistance as to the best mode of disposing of the various articles which it had cost him so much trouble and expense to acquire.

"Cairo, June 10th, 1818.

"My dear Sir,

* * * "I am truly glad to hear, *viâ* Malta, that the *head* has safely reached its destination, the Admiral having informed me that he has received an acknowledgement from the Foreign Office. Your idea of placing it in the court-yard is good, but has two objections—the difficulty of preserving it from sun, frost, and rain, which will very soon decompose the granite, as I have seen in many instances, and the difficulty of placing it in a proper light, the whole effect of it entirely depending upon this latter circumstance.

"I am sorry to hear that the Trustees (for I am aware of

Sir Joseph Banks's influence among them) do not wish for more Egyptian antiquities. I have gone to great expense in collecting, chiefly with a view to throw some light on the sculpture of the Egyptians, and have fortunately discovered, by digging, about twenty specimens, not very bulky, that will prove their claim to great excellence in the art, and which satisfactorily demonstrate that the Greeks borrowed the rudiments, if not more, from this extraordinary people. Diodorus indeed attests that the Grecian sculptors began to measure for the first time the proportions of their statues, according to the Egyptian practice, in the time of Amasis, which allows a century for the great progress subsequently made up to the time of Pericles.

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pressed me much to let him have a portion for the King of France, and I know that they would be disposed to pay a handsome price; but I should be sorry to see such articles out of England.

"Be good enough to think of this matter, and to give me your friendly advice how to act; and at all events, if Government are not disposed to take them, have the kindness to assist me in removing them to England, as I have already embarrassed myself much with the expenses incurred. I send you a rough list from which you may form some slight idea of the value of the Collection; all the minor articles, which are very numerous, not being included, though many of them are singularly curious as illustrating the arts of the country. Opposite the chief articles I have put a rough calculation of their *supposed* value; but in this I am liable to be *much mistaken*, as I do not at all know how such antiquities might sell: indeed *such* as these have never been seen in Europe.

"Pray excuse the liberty I take in troubling you on this occasion, but, as it affords the only prospect of a return some day or other to Europe, the matter is of course of deep interest to me. By my father's death I have inherited five thousand pounds, half of this is *already* disposed of in forming my Collection; if, therefore, I could repay myself and add something to the sum, it might afford a reasonable prospect, after six or seven years, of enabling me to retire from office; otherwise, I must be for ever condemned to remain here, which, you will allow is no very desirable lot, since saving out of my salary is totally out of the question, so long as a due regard is paid to keeping up the respectability of the Consulate.

Believe me, my dear sir,

"Your's most faithfully, H. S."

"P. S. Many of the articles noted in the list are still at Thebes; but I hope to have them at Alexandria by October, before which your answer may arrive."

"To William Hamilton, Esq."

The above letter, and the list of articles and their prices which accompanied it, were incautiously, though perhaps naturally enough, submitted by Mr. Hamilton to Sir Joseph Banks and others among Mr. Salt's friends, and they unfortunately produced an outcry against the Consul, which no human foresight on his part could have anticipated.

Sir Joseph Banks, who had been the chief adviser of Mr. Salt as to forming a Collection, now became the loudest in his condemnation; and from the great weight he possessed with many influential persons, excited for a time no small degree of prejudice against his former protegé. The great cause of offence appears to have arisen from the list of prices, forwarded by Salt with his letters, and which Sir Joseph erroneously considered *not* as a *private*, but as a *public* document; and not being very conversant in matters of art, and having no notion either of the great merit of Egyptian sculpture or of its *value*, he appears, without waiting for explanation, to have formed a very rash judgment upon the whole affair, and to have *acted* with equal precipitancy. But he was then growing old, and his temper, which was at no time distinguished by suavity, had become soured by infirmity. He has been well characterised as a "Man of a *word* and a *blow*;" and, in the instance in question, the blow seems to have taken precedence.

In the mean while, the *unfortunate* list passed from hand to hand, and poor Salt was accused unheard of being a dealer, a Jew, a *second Lord Elgin*.* Some persons even

* This nobleman had the honour of bringing into England, and probably of rescuing from the destructive ravages of barbarians, one of the

hinted that the loss of his Consulship might be the consequence, though it would probably have been difficult to show how such a result could have been justified, when the only sin with which he was charged amounted to nothing more than his having stated *privately* some very *vague* calculation as to what he had good reason to suppose might be the value of his Collection. No part of his salary had been expended in the undertaking. The money thus employed was strictly his own, and he had still the loss of interest to encounter, and the risk of removing many articles of the most fragile description from Thebes to Alexandria, and thence, perhaps, to England. Hitherto he had realized nothing, and even in the event of his offer to Government being accepted, he must have well known, as such bargains are commonly managed, the probability of his being kept out of the money he had disbursed, for a considerable period.

All these matters were, however, overlooked at the time,

finest collections of Grecian sculpture, and of the purest æra, which any European nation can boast; damaged, it is true, by the hand of time and the frantic rage of Mahomedan superstition; but still retaining beauties and perfections enough to excite the envy, though perhaps not the emulation, of succeeding generations: and what reward did his Lordship reap from his exertions? The antiquities, for years, were depreciated, their genuineness was doubted, and he himself was stigmatized as a sacrilegious despoiler of the sacred territory of Greece! It is to be lamented that, in those days, some individuals, from the nature of whose avocations a better judgment might have been expected, joined in the tasteless outcry, and even went so far as to designate the collection, "a parcel of old rubbish for which ten thousand pounds would be an *exorbitant price*." The *fortunate* arrival, however, of the *Marquis Canova* in England, somewhat tardily wrought a miracle in favour of these neglected remains. What ought to have been done in the first instance, was at length adopted: the evidence of competent judges was resorted to, and the antiquities were finally purchased by a grant from parliament of thirty-five thousand pounds, about one half of the sum which it had altogether cost his Lordship in assembling the collection.—E.

and Sir Joseph Banks addressed a cool and rather sarcastic letter to Mr. Salt, from which the following are extracts.

"Soho Square, Feb. 14, 1819.

"DEAR SIR,

"Though in truth we are here much satisfied with the Memnon, and consider it as a *chef-d'œuvre* of Egyptian sculpture; yet we have not placed that statue among the works of *Fine Art.* It stands in the Egyptian Rooms. Whether any statue that has been found in Egypt can be brought into competition with the grand works of the Townley Gallery remains to be proved; unless however they really are so, the prices you have set upon your acquisitions are very unlikely to be realized in Europe.*

* We are too apt in England to erect an individual, who has raised himself to distinction by any particular branch of knowledge, into a supreme judge of every other pursuit, and perhaps we need not go farther than the instance before us, for a proof of the truth of the observation.

The late Sir Joseph Banks was a man of good general abilities, his knowledge of the world was extensive, and he was somewhat distinguished as a scientific character and natural historian. These qualities, united to a splendid fortune, eminently fitted him for the high and difficult situation which he so long filled with great credit to himself, and essential benefit to the community; but his knowledge in the Fine Arts was exceedingly limited; and yet on these subjects, as well as on those he really did understand, his authority seems to have been regarded as paramount.

It is far from my intention, on this occasion, to discuss the separate merits of the Egyptian statues, or those of the Townley Collection; both are probably excellent in their kind; but the idea of placing them in competition is fully as absurd as it would be to draw a comparison between a cabinet picture by Correggio, and the Last Judgement by Michael Angelo. Works of so opposite a character ought certainly never to be placed in company with each other; but it by no means follows that they may not both contain perfections well worthy of study and imitation.

I have been informed it is the opinion of the first English Sculptor of the present day, that many of the Egyptian statues and basso-relievos evidently contain some of the elements on which the style of Phidias was founded: an opinion which must be strongly corroborated by a

"I cannot help being sorry that you have abandoned your original intention of placing yourself *in the hands of the public.* I dare not, however, offer you any advice on the matter, as though I differ entirely from you in estimating the gain you are likely to make by the sale of what you have procured, *in Europe,* you may have prospects which are utterly unknown to me. * * * I have written very freely on what I consider as a very great miscalculation of yours; but I beg you to be assured, that no miscalculation can alter the good opinion I have always entertained of you, or change the sincere regard with which I sign myself,

"Your faithful servant and sincere well-wisher,

JOSEPH BANKS."

"Henry Salt, Esq."

The above was enclosed in a letter from Mr. Hamilton, from which the annexed is an extract.

careful consideration of the magnificent fragment of the statue of Memnon, alluded to by Sir Joseph Banks in the above letter, and which is indeed alone sufficient to prove the great progress made by the Egyptian sculptors in the remotest æras. It was their lot to discover, and to reduce to practice, many of those leading and permanent principles, governing the arts of design, which it became the brilliant destiny of a more ardent, unshackled, and intellectual people to refine, regulate, and finally carry to the utmost known limits of human perfection; much beyond this, perhaps, our admiration of the Egyptian artists ought not to extend. Their works, it must be conceded, contain many imperfections, but they are precisely such as might be expected from men whose minds, though expanded far above the age in which they lived, were nevertheless cramped and fettered by the conventional forms of a mystical and superstitious religion.

Without having a chance even of amending the defects of their style, by the study of more perfect specimens of the human race than their own country afforded, and with which they were alone conversant, the wonder is that, under such disadvantageous circumstances, they should have been enabled to form a style of art, and to produce monuments of genius which, from the magnificence of their conception, and the boldness of their execution, have excited the admiration and the awe of succeeding and far more cultivated ages.—E.

"Foreign Office, Feb. 16, 1819.

"The enclosed from Sir Joseph Banks will explain to you, more fully than I need enter upon the subject, the views entertained at the Museum respecting your proposals for their taking lead in the farther progress of your antiquarian speculations. I can only unite with Sir Joseph in recommending to you not to dip too deep in search of the hidden treasures of Egyptian sculpture, for in these economical times, John Bull may be easily induced to withhold his purse-strings, even at the risk of losing the unique monuments which you have discovered. (Signed) "W. HAMILTON."

"To Henry Salt, Esq."

With these letters Mr. Salt also appears to have received a very strong one from the Earl of Mountnorris on the same subject. I have neither the original letter, nor any extracts from it, but the nature of its contents may be generally gathered from the Consul's reply; which, together with several other answers, he immediately forwarded to England. They are as follows:—

FROM HENRY SALT, ESQ. TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR JOSEPH BANKS.

"DEAR SIR, "Cairo, May 28th, 1819.

"I yesterday received your letter of the 24th February, to which I hasten to reply. I feel most exceedingly hurt and distressed at my meaning, expressed in a letter to Mr. Hamilton, having been so completely misunderstood. It was undoubtedly my own fault (as I have more fully expressed in a letter on this subject to the Earl of Mountnorris, which I have requested him to lay before you) in enclosing, at the same time that I asked his advice about offering my Collection to Government at *their own valuation*, a foolish list of my private estimation of the value of the

different articles, which list, however, I by no means wished to set up as a standard for the Government to go by.

"To prevent, however, any future misunderstanding, I now take the liberty of offering, through you, my *whole* Collection to the British Museum (except a few articles intended for the Earl of Mountnorris) without any condition whatever, and shall feel a great pride hereafter in rendering it complete. The expenses incurred in forming this Collection have been considerable, and have somewhat seriously intrenched on my small private property; which, should the Trustees be pleased to reimburse me, in whole or in part, I shall receive as an obligation, or otherwise shall rest perfectly satisfied in the idea that my services in this respect may not be ultimately overlooked by the Government. I hope you will have the goodness to make this proposal known to the Trustees, and with your usual kindness to explain away any disadvantageous impression as to my intentions with regard to this Collection which may have gone abroad.

"It is necessary for me to mention, that with respect to one article, the sarcophagus, I was compelled to satisfy Mr. Belzoni, who had estimated its value at something preposterous, to make a clause in our final agreement* to the effect that "it should be offered to the British Museum within three years at a fair valuation, and that whatever sum might be given above two thousand pounds he should be entitled to one half of such surplus." This claim renders it necessary that a valuation should be made of this article, by any persons the Trustees may appoint, for the sake of getting rid of this claim. As far as I am myself concerned, I wish the sarcophagus to be considered as being, with the rest of the Collection, at your disposition.

(Signed) "H. SALT."

"To Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. &c."

* The agreement here alluded to is given in the Life.—ED.

HENRY SALT, ESQ. TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES YORKE.

"My dear Sir, "Cairo, May 28th, 1819.

"Lord Mountnorris having informed me of his conversation with you respecting the offer which I made to the Government, and which I am sorry to learn has been so unfortunately misconstrued, I have thought it right to forward immediately an explanation to him on the subject, which I have requested him to do me the favour to lay before you. Perhaps, in addition to what I have there stated, you will have the goodness to permit me to make a few remarks.

"When I was first honoured with this situation, I always understood (as perhaps you may recollect my mentioning) that Colonel Misset had retired with a pension granted to him as Consul-General, and I certainly looked forward to the prospect that, after a course of sufficiently long and faithful services, I might be enabled in the same way to return once again to Europe. This hope, however, was taken from me by a communication made to me about a year and a half ago by my agent at the Foreign Office, that Colonel Misset had not received his pension as Consul-General but as Resident, and that, therefore, I must not build on any such expectation: the very mention of which, without any allusion to the subject on my part, proving that my original view of it was known at the Foreign Office. To this I could not, as such were the established usages, make any reply, though I must confess it has since given me many painful moments, especially when my health has been seriously affected, which has twice occurred since my residence here,—once on the arrival of Lord Belmore, and this year during my journey with Mr. Bankes,—as it made me doubly sensible of the privations I am likely to be condemned to for life.

"I had already ascertained that there was no chance of saving anything out of my Consular salary, compatibly with what I conceive to be a duty—the keeping up such an establishment as may secure the respectability of my station, and afford the necessary accommodations to travellers of condition. The small fortune, therefore, left me by my father, amounting to about five thousand pounds, became my only resource in case of necessity. It was, it is true, embarked in researches of a very expensive nature, but they had in some degree been crowned with success. I confess, therefore, that I felt I was not doing anything very wrong, especially after what I had given to the Museum, and the considerable sums spent here in objects of mere public interest, in consulting Mr. Hamilton (for such you will find to have been the tenor of my letter) about offering my Collection to Government 'at a fair valuation, that value to be determined by Mr. Hamilton and any other persons the Government might appoint.'

"Unfortunately for me, as it has proved, I enclosed at the same time a list (a foolish list, I believe I may call it, for my ideas, since the enthusiastic fit is over, are much changed about Egyptian antiquities) containing my private estimation of the chief articles I had collected; yet not, by any means, setting it up as a standard for the Government to be guided by, but, on the contrary, prefacing it with an acknowledgment of my being likely to be much mistaken, from my not knowing at all the value of such articles in England. It must also be observed in my excuse, that in Egypt the mania was at that time so strong that I had been offered by Monsieur Drovetti (through Mr. Bankes) ten thousand dollars for the sarcophagus—any price I pleased for a small and entire statue, for the King of France, by the Count de Forbin—prices not likely to be given in England—all which I rejected, as determining not to place myself in the light of a dealer.

"My conduct and motives being now fully before you, I hope you will allow, my dear sir, that there has been nothing very culpable in what I have done. To obviate, however, any farther possible misapprehension of my intentions, I have now thought it right to address a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, offering at once, without any condition, the whole of my Collection to the British Museum; stating at the same time that, 'should they be pleased to reimburse my expenses in whole or in part, I shall receive it as an obligation, or otherwise shall rest satisfied in the idea that my services in this respect may not be ultimately overlooked by Government.' To this step I have not only been led by my own inclination to serve the public, which has overbalanced all selfish considerations in my mind, but from a desire to comply with your wishes, so obligingly expressed through Lord Mountnorris, formed, I am sure, upon what you conceive to be my best interests, as also to retain the friendship of Sir Joseph Banks; and permit me to say that I rejoice in the opportunity it affords me of evincing my unalterable sentiments of deference and esteem.

"Mr. Belzoni, who has been a long time out of my employ and engaged in a work undertaken on his own account, wrote some time back to Sir Joseph Banks, proposing his services to the British Museum;* with this I had had nothing to do

* This alludes to a request of Sir Joseph Banks, which Mr. Salt thus notices in a letter to him, dated Thebes, 16th of November 1818.—"Since the receipt of your (Sir Joseph's) letter, I have had an opportunity of showing that part of the contents, which refers to your idea of collecting for the British Museum, to Belzoni, who feels very grateful for this notice of him, and has begged me to remit for him a letter containing his proposals to the Trustees of the British Museum, which you will find enclosed. H. S."

"Thebes, 14th Nov. 1818.

"Sir,

"As I understand it is the wish of Sir Joseph Banks that I should enter into an arrangement with the Trustees of the British Museum to

farther than forwarding his offer, which I thought it right to do, as Sir Joseph Banks had in some degree *invited* his services—though Mr. Bankes, as well as myself, conceived they would not be accepted. I hope you will have the goodness to forgive my thus troubling you, and believe me to be, dear sir, with the greatest respect and gratitude,

"Your obliged and humble servant, H. S."

"P. S. I have mentioned to Mr. Hamilton in a late letter, the circumstance of Mr. Bankes and myself having discovered, on the feet of one of the Colossi at Ipsambul, an inscription in Greek, written in the time of Psammatichus, (Ψαμματιχος,) for so the name is there spelt, and it is a curious confirmation of that not being a wrong spelling that the name in Herodotus is written throughout one chapter with a η, or Ψαμμητιχος, which by a dialect might be easily changed to α. The inscription itself, or rather its contents, are not very interesting, but, as proving the antiquity of the Temple, which is the finest in Nubia, singularly so; as well

employ myself in excavating and collecting antiquity in Egypt, I take this method of acquainting you that I should feel myself highly honoured in engaging with the said Trustees for the period of two years, promising that I would endeavour, to the best of my knowledge, to employ the above time in the most minute researches. Having made a calculation of the expenses necessary for such an undertaking, on a scale equal to that of ———,* who have lately been very successful, I find that on the *most economical* system they would amount to the sum of 1500*l.* per annum; including the necessary presents to Beys, Kacheefs, and Kaimakans up the country; leaving it to the Trustees to decide on whatever recompenses they may think proper for my own exertions on these occasions, and requesting, if my services should be accepted, they will be pleased to specify in their answer what sum they decide upon for this purpose, to prevent any farther delay. I take the liberty to beg you will acquaint Sir Joseph Banks with my proposal at the earliest opportunity. I have the honour to be

"Your most humble and devoted servant, G. Belzoni."

(Copy)—Ed.

* Probably Salt and Mr. William Bankes are here alluded to.

as in confirming Herodotus's account of the introduction of Greek troops into the country at this particular period, and its according so well with the singular history of the secession of the Egyptian army, and the journey into Nubia of the King in pursuit of them. I should feel great pleasure in sending you a copy of it, but as a joint discovery of Mr. Bankes and myself, I have thought it a compliment due to him not to let a copy get abroad, at least until his return, but you may be assured that I will send to you the first I forward to England. On the same leg were many names of Ptolemy's elephant and bird-hunters. I suppose ostriches are meant by this. To this long postscript I again subscribe myself, "Yours, &c. H. S."

"To the Right Hon. Charles Yorke, M.P. &c."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM HENRY SALT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF MOUNTNORRIS.

"My dear Lord, "Cairo, May 28th, 1819.

"If the matter treated of in your last were not, as you say, a serious concern, I should be much inclined to smile at the construction which has been put upon my unfortunate letter and list, and which it seems has gone nigh to stamp me with the character of a Jew. As you, however, seem to think the business of real importance, I will endeavour to throw a little light on the affair.

"In the first place, then, I enclose a copy of my letter to Mr. Hamilton, which I happen luckily to have kept by me, and which, I think, in itself you will allow is enough to put down all the very heavy imputations that have been heaped upon me. It is a *private* letter, as you will observe, to a friend, consulting him as to the best means of acting, at a time when I understood from him that the Museum was not likely to be desirous of more Egyptian antiquities, and

doing, in fact, the very thing you now recommend, 'offering my Collection at a fair valuation to Government, and that valuation to be left to Mr. Hamilton and to any other persons the Government might appoint.' But it seems it was the inventory which gave so much offence; truly it is a foolish document, written in one of those weak moments when we all make the most of what we possess; but which, I declare, was never intended as any standard for the Government, or Museum, to be guided by, as my expression '*how much I might be mistaken in this rough calculation*' must evince; and the paragraph, also, quoted by you from my letter to you, left open to Mr. Hamilton's perusal, '*and the rest I think, if the idea be approved of, of offering at their own price to the British Museum,*' tends pretty clearly to confirm what were my views on the subject, as will also all my subsequent letters to Mr. Hamilton, in which it will be seen that my principal, and, I may say, my only object, as far as my pecuniary interests were concerned, has been to get my expenses covered, with such interest for my money as would have accrued to me had I not entered into the speculation, which money, it is to be observed, has not come out of my Consular income, of which every farthing has been spent in public service, but out of *my private funds.*

"Besides, it must be remembered that this does not take into calculation the risk I have run, and *still* run, with respect to this Collection, as the prospect of finding any thing, when I entered so deeply into expense, was very uncertain and might have proved altogether fallacious, and a mere tumult of the soldiers here might, even now, occasion the destruction of the greater part of what I have got together without the least chance of my being repaid for the same.

"Laying aside, however, all such considerations, and to set the matter at rest, I now write to Sir Joseph Banks,

offering without condition, or stipulation of any kind, the whole Collection to the Museum, excepting always the articles meant for you. If they pay my expenses I shall feel obliged, and if not, I can only look forward to the hope that the public may not ultimately overlook my good services to the state.

"As far as regards Sir Joseph Banks, Mr. Yorke, Mr. Hamilton, and yourself, I am truly sorry that any inadvertent, or misunderstood expressions, should have been written to lessen me, for a moment, in your good opinions, as I can truly state there is no person more grateful, nor more ready to attend to every wish you may do me the favour to express, than myself. As to the mass of the world, I am pretty much of a philosopher, and, so long as I have nothing to reproach myself with, do not very much regard its opinion.

"Before I conclude I must observe, that in giving you to understand that my letter to Mr. Hamilton has been misconstrued, I do not in the slightest degree mean to attribute it to that gentleman;* but to the circumstance of my

* The above is written with great good feeling, as it was the showing of the list to Sir Joseph Banks, in the first instance, that unquestionably was the *ostensible* cause of all that followed; but if Mr. Hamilton was for a moment off his guard, it will be seen, by the following note to Lord Mountnorris, that he had candour enough to admit his oversight.

"Southampton, Sept. 30th, 1819.

"DEAR MOUNTNORRIS,

"I send you the enclosed from Salt, and most willingly take upon myself any share of the blame arising from the incautious manner of communicating his former notices respecting his Collection of antiques. I ought certainly to have suppressed the catalogue, as it was priced, but as it was referred to in the body of the letter, I let it pass without discrimination. * * * However, Salt's explanation is very satisfactory, and I have no doubt, when we meet in town, we may do something for him. Yours, &c. WILLIAM HAMILTON."

After all, if the whole circumstance be considered, it appears that no *very inexcusable* share of blame could *fairly* attach either to the writer of the list, or to its publisher.—E.

sending with it the *Christie-sort of list*, as you term it, without sufficient explanation. As to Mr. Hamilton, I am most grateful to him for his many acts of kindness, and feel satisfied that I have not a better friend in the world. This explanation will, I hope, satisfy you on the subject in question, and convince you that I merit, as before, to sign myself, Your sincere friend, H. S."

P. S. Have the goodness to make the contents known to Sir Joseph Banks and Mr. Yorke. I leave the letter under a flying seal for Mr. Hamilton's inspection, and that he may correct the copy enclosed of my letter to him, if there should be any variation in the one *I sent*. H. S."

"To the Earl of Mountnorris."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM HENRY SALT, ESQ. TO WILLIAM HAMILTON, ESQ.

"Cairo, May 26th, 1819.

"My dear Sir,

"I have just received your note and that of Sir Joseph, as well as a long letter from Lord Mountnorris, giving me a more complete detail of circumstances relative to the feelings excited by my offer of the Collection. I really cannot help thinking that the cry against me is rather beyond what I deserve, as well as premature. My letter to you, if you will have the goodness to refer to it, you will find to be that of a person consulting with a friend, rather than containing a regular proposal; and even, as far as the proposal goes, offering the Collection 'at a fair valuation, the value to be fixed by you, and any other persons the Government might appoint.' Surely there could be no great harm in this? Unfortunately, however, it seems to have been coupled naturally enough, though I own I had not foreseen the circumstance, with the rough inventory I sent you, giving an idea of my private estimation of the several articles: a

foolish document, as I have confessed in my answer to Lord Mountnorris, and one that I certainly did not think of publishing. Thus I am thought to have become a dealer, a Jew, and I know not how many other shocking appellations. I am truly glad, however, to find that you have not, in consequence, cast me off as unworthy of your farther notice.

"To obviate, however, any farther misapprehension of my motives, I have thought it right to write the enclosed letter to Sir Joseph, offering officially my whole Collection to the Museum, without any condition, or stipulation; for rather than forfeit Sir Joseph's, Mr. Yorke's, or your good opinion, I would gladly give up all the antiquities in the universe. I shall certainly be glad to have my expenses paid, for the reasons I have before mentioned to you, but even if this should be thought too much by the Museum, I shall rest thoroughly satisfied in the thought that Government may some day or other remember my services, and enable me, by some future arrangement, to spend my latter days in Europe. H. S."

A short time previous to the date of the above letter, and while he was *in ignorance* of the manner in which his offer to Government had been received, Mr. Salt addressed another letter to Mr. Hamilton, extracts from which I subjoin, as they will serve to show the great expense he had been at in forming his Collection, as well as the value that must have been put upon it by persons in Egypt conversant in such matters.

"Cairo, May 4th, 1819.

"For the present I have ceased collecting, as I found the expense too heavy. What I have collected I shall forward home for the Museum, and shall be content to receive whatever may be deemed a moderate recompense. I have no

doubt, that in our fit of enthusiasm we have greatly exaggerated the value of these remains, but still they are such as will do honour to any Collection. I should hope therefore to replace the money I have advanced, which, with interest, will amount to something more than three thousand pounds. In addition to the articles I mentioned in a letter to you, I have a fine statue, got out of the ruins of the true Memnonium, about nine feet high, in the same position and with the same hieroglyphics (as far as what Dr. Young calls the name) as the great statue with the Greek inscriptions. You will be aware that my expenses will be much augmented by sending home the several articles, some of which are bulky, that I have collected, freight and insurance being heavy; I should be therefore glad if you could help me in getting an order from the Admiralty to the Admiral at Malta to assist, for though I know him very well, yet it would be pleasanter, both to him and to myself, to have it done by an order from home. He would only have to authorize the transports coming here to receive them as articles intended for the British Museum. I feel assured you will have the goodness to get this done for me.

"If the Museum would give me 4000*l.* and take the risk on themselves, I would gladly send them all I have. In remains of sculpture in *wood*, in mummies of animals and birds, in vases, as well as papyri, independent of the statues and fragments of statues, I will venture to say it is the best Collection ever made, except that of Monsieur Drovetti's, and he would not part with his for ten thousand pounds. H. S."

"To William Hamilton, Esq."

These explanatory letters on the part of Mr. Salt appear to have dissipated the unpleasant feelings which had been previously excited, and to have afforded great satisfaction to all his friends,—perhaps with the exception of Sir Joseph

Banks, who, though he admits, in the following note to Mr. Yorke, that Salt had succeeded in removing from his mind every unfavourable impression, yet still harps upon the original grievance of the priced list being forwarded to Mr. Hamilton.

SIR J. BANKS TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES YORKE.

"Soho Square, Nov. 1st, 1819.

"My dear Sir,

"At the request of Lord Mountnorris, whose letter I enclose, and of Mr. Salt, I send for your perusal a letter from that gentleman, and the long one from him to Mr. Hamilton. Mr. Salt wishes to discharge from your mind, as well as from mine and others of his friends, the opinions we entertained on perusing his schedule of valuation of his Egyptian Collection. He has certainly removed it, which is a good measure on his part; but he does not appear to me to establish on any good ground his reasons for having originally sent it.

"I have the honour to be, &c. Joseph Banks."

FROM THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES YORKE.
(In reply to the preceding.)

"Boningtons, Nov. 5th, 1819.

"Dear Sir Joseph Banks,

"I had the honour of receiving your note with the enclosures from Lord Mountnorris and Mr. Salt, (herewith returned,) and am obliged to you for the communication. I had previously, some weeks ago, received a letter from Salt himself to the same purpose, and which certainly appeared to me to be satisfactory in reference to the subject alluded to. Having had occasion, also, to see Mr. Hamilton when I was last in town, I found that his impressions were the same as mine.

" It is impossible for any man, I think, who has any pretensions to scholarship or classical taste not to feel *highly* interested in the discoveries which have lately been made in the line of Egyptian antiquities, especially since the arrival of our friend Salt at his destined station; and, although ' a *rigid economy* is so much *the order of the day*,' I cannot help hoping that the House of Commons may be induced to supply the Museum with adequate funds (not necessarily extravagant) to enable the Trustees to secure for the British nation the most important and curious of the antiquities which have been obtained by Mr. Salt, and those who have acted with him with so much credit and glory to themselves. I particularly allude to the sarcophagus from the ' regal tombs,' the ' sycamore statues' found in them, the ' bust from Thebes' which is spoken of, and the ' papyri.' It would be an indelible disgrace if such articles as these were either permitted to find their way to any foreign museum, or were to become *a ruinous charge* and a *subject* of *regret* and mortification to those who have had the spirit, the intelligence, and the perseverance to obtain them. Surely this can never be; and, even should the House of Commons prove so tasteless and supine, I trust the Prince Regent will never suffer so great a blemish to fall on the national honour. In any case, I trust that high-spirited individuals enough might be found to rescue their country from such a disgrace: should it be necessary to form any subscription for this purpose, and to defray Mr. Salt's expenses and fair loss on his capital, I for one, though not rich, will very readily and cheerfully deposit my proportion.

" Salt's letter to me mentions, what I take it for granted you are more correctly informed about, the very curious and interesting inscription found on one of the colossi at Ipsambul, attributed to the age of Psammatichus.

If this be really so, (being, I apprehend, referable to about seven hundred and forty years B. C. or about the fortieth Olympiad,) a fac-simile of the *characters* will be most highly desirable, as they must be among the most archade of any that have come down to us; and, as it seems that the Greek colonies and auxiliaries then in Egypt, from Asia Minor, were chiefly from the *Ionic* tribes, it may be a means of clearing up some of the difficulties respecting the early Greek characters.

"Should you have any more *specific* information on this interesting topic, perhaps you will have the goodness to allow your amanuensis to give me a line on the subject. I observe that you are aware of Pearce's fortunate escape from Habesh with his papers. I trust there will be no difficulty in getting the broad R taken from his name at the Navy Board: I shall be glad to assist, if necessary. Excuse this long scrawl, and believe me, &c. CHARLES YORKE."

"The Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, G.C.B."

FROM WILLIAM HAMILTON, ESQ. TO SIR JOSEPH BANKS.

"DEAR SIR JOSEPH, "Nov. 9th, 1819.

"I beg to return you the enclosed letters from Salt, Lord Mountnorris, and Mr. Charles Yorke, and willingly add my testimony to the expediency of taking some public measure for ensuring to the Museum this valuable Collection of Egyptian antiquities. My last letters from Salt are to the same effect, and he adds, that many of their new discoveries, of Greek inscriptions in connexion with hieroglyphics, go far to demonstrate the comparatively modern date of many of the temples of that country. * * * Perhaps the Trustees of the Museum will direct an application to be made to Government for a transport to be sent to Alexandria to bring off the whole of what Salt is ready to ship.

"Yours, &c. WILLIAM HAMILTON."

Neither this recommendation, however, of Mr. Hamilton, nor the letter of Mr. Yorke, written in the true spirit of an accomplished gentleman and enlightened statesman, appears to have produced any immediate effect in favour of Mr. Salt's interest. It was certainly the intention of Sir Joseph Banks to take an early opportunity of laying Salt's proposal before the Trustees of the Museum, as will be seen from the subjoined extracts of a letter of his written to the Earl of Mountnorris.

"Soho Square, Nov. 11th, 1819.

"My dear Lord,

"I have delayed answering your Lordship's last letter until I have had time to carry into execution the commands it contained. I enclose Mr. Yorke's letter and Mr. Hamilton's, both of whom are ardent well-wishers to Salt. * * * One of Salt's statues has arrived: it is the one he values at 800*l.*; consequently, in his opinion, the best he has. I am taking measures to have it removed to the British Museum and placed there in public view, preparatory to the arrival of the rest of the Collection: it is now in a cellar in the city. I went with Combe in the hope of seeing it, but found the stairs too narrow; he saw it, and considers it as far the best Egyptian work he has seen, the Memnon excepted. * * * The general meeting of Trustees of the British Museum will very soon take place. I shall then make known Salt's proposal, which will, I have no doubt, be instantly accepted, and a letter written to the Admiralty requesting that the next transport sent to Alexandria may be directed to bring Salt's collection to Malta, from whence we shall very soon obtain them. * * * Adieu, my dear Lord, and believe me, with real esteem and regard, your Lordship's

"Most faithful and most humble servant,

Joseph Banks."

"To the Earl of Mountnorris."

From this letter, it is probable that Sir Joseph communicated Mr. Salt's proposal shortly afterwards to the Trustees of the Museum; but the infirmities of age were at this period coming fast upon him, and his death, which occurred in the following year, appears to have prevented any active measures from being adopted for a considerable time, as Mr. Salt, in the following letter addressed to Mr. Richards two years after, states that he had up to that period been left without the slightest *official* notice, from any quarter, respecting the offer of his Collection to the Museum, made through Sir Joseph Banks, in May 1819.

"My dear Richards, "Cairo, 26th of May, 1822.

"I lately received, on my return from Upper Egypt, where I have been absent for some months, your letter of the 8th of October. * * * I regret the trouble you have had with the sarcophagus,† but I certainly could not foresee the difficulty you would have, everything on my part having been very clear and explicit, as you will see by the enclosed extracts of correspondence. * * * No. 1 is a copy of part of my letter to Mr. Hamilton, offering my Collection to Government, and asking advice on the subject. No. 2, which inclosed No. 3 from Sir Joseph Banks, is the *only* answer I ever received to this application; and at the same time I received a letter from Lord Mountnorris, telling me I was considered worse than Lord Elgin, &c. all of which is not very like 'an acceptance of my proposition,' as supposed by Lord Mountnorris in his letter to you on the subject of the sarcophagus:—there was nothing, therefore, to prevent my entering into any agreement I might choose with Belzoni. No. 4 contains my answer to Sir Joseph Banks, in consequence of what he had written to me, making

† This alludes to Belzoni's claim upon it, which created no small degree of trouble, and will be alluded to hereafter.

an *unconditional* offer of my Collection to the Museum, of which he was a Trustee, with the exception of the sarcophagus, which, as you will see, I stated must be taken at a fair valuation, to get rid of Belzoni's claim. At the same time I inclosed a copy of that part of the agreement with Belzoni which concerned the sarcophagus.

From that time to this I have received no communication from Sir Joseph Banks, the Museum, or the Government, in any shape, except a notification, which I think Mr. W. Bankes was good enough to make me, that a ship was to be sent to take my Collection; but this was so long delayed, that, having no official notice of the same, I became alarmed for the sarcophagus, which was in daily risk of being broken, and sent it home by the Diana. No. 5, is a copy of a letter sent to Mr. Hamilton at the same time that I wrote to Sir Joseph. No. 6, my letter to Lord Mountnorris on the same subject. No. 7, is a letter that I have now written to the Trustees of the Museum; so that you will have all which has passed on the subject. — You will be aware that my marriage and the birth of my child, together with my very precarious health, which I am sorry to say still continues, have altered considerably my own view of the question; but this can make no difference in my engagement with the Museum, made through Sir Joseph Banks, by which I undoubtedly mean to *abide*; — so that whatever they may offer me, I feel myself bound to receive, and shall thank God, when it is concluded, at having got rid of what you will see has not been a very pleasant affair; though instead of the upbraidings and disquiet that I have incurred, I might have expected some small thanks for my exertions, advance of all I had in the world, risk and loss of interest to which I have been exposed. But they do these things differently in England from other countries, and it is always useless to complain.

"I have written to Mr. Yorke, Lord Mountnorris, and Mr. William Bankes on this occasion, who will all, I am sure, lend their kind assistance towards procuring me a fair remuneration. I also wrote a note to Mr. Combe, being fully sensible how much I owe to his kindness in putting together my Collection. I am only astonished how he could make out the list at all, owing to the confusion in which they were embarked in plague-time. I am glad to say that the numbers 38, 39, have been found in the Shuna, where they were left by some mistake. — They are in good condition and now on their way to England.

"I need not beg you, my dear fellow, to exert yourself, as far as lies in your power, on this occasion, as I am sure you will do all that is possible. In case of any person, on my part, being asked for by the Museum to assist in any valuation they may choose to make, you may apply to Mr. Fuseli, Mr. Chantrey, Mr. Flaxman, or Mr. Westmacott, of whose judgment I have a very high opinion, or any other persons you may think right; or advise with Lord Mountnorris or Mr. Halls. In fact, I leave you full powers to act for me throughout this affair when it may be necessary, being highly satisfied with the prudence, judgment, and attachment to my interests, which you have hitherto shown. * * * It may be right to tell you in confidence, that I hope to get four thousand pounds from Government, or otherwise I shall feel myself aggrieved. Should it be five thousand, I shall be highly satisfied. You know, I believe, that I was offered for the sarcophagus ten thousand dollars *in Egypt*, by Mr. Drovetti; and the same offer was repeated to me by a Prussian traveller, Baron Minutoli, who begged me, should the Government not take it, to let him have the refusal. In France, I could get at least double what I have above stated for my Collection, though, as Mr. Yorke observes, 'this is not exactly a fair argument.' Though

certainly the Government had no actual claim on my Collection—especially when the present is considered which I made to the Museum of my half share in the great head. * * * *

Your's very truly, H. S."

A short time previously to the date of the above, Mr. Salt addressed a letter to the Trustees of the Museum, renewing the unconditional offer of his Collection, which he had made through Sir J. Banks in 1819, and of which he following is a copy.

"TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

"My Lords and Gentlemen, "Cairo, May 10th, 1822.

"Having received the satisfactory intelligence that the whole of my Egyptian Collection, as per catalogue transmitted, which I was pressed by my friend and patron, the late Sir Joseph Banks, to place at your disposition, has arrived in safety; I take the liberty of repeating my unconditional offer of it to the British Museum, with the exception as before stated in my letter to Sir Joseph Banks, dated May 28th, 1819, of which I enclose an extract, of the alabaster sarcophagus, which, according to agreement with Mr. Belzoni, I have to beg may be estimated at a fair valuation.

"At the same time I feel it necessary for my interest to state that, this Collection has been made by me at great expense (upwards of three thousand pounds,) at the imminent risk of the funds employed, out of private property left me by my father, to which alone (in case of any disaster occurring to me, and my health has been for some years and continues to be very precarious) my family has to look for support. I have, therefore, to throw myself

entirely on your liberality, and shall be perfectly satisfied with whatever you may determine in my favour.

I have the honour to be,
My Lords and Gentlemen,
With the highest respect,
Your very obedient humble servant,
HENRY SALT."

[Here follows the extract from Salt's letter to Sir Joseph Banks.]

In the course of the two preceding years, Mr. Salt had by degrees forwarded most of his Collection to his agent, Mr. Bingham Richards, with instructions to deposit the different portions, as they arrived, in the British Museum as his property, taking at the same time an acknowledgment to that effect, until all the antiquities should be assembled, and a fair idea formed of the nature and extent of the Collection. The sarcophagus seems to have been nearly the last article sent, and as soon as Mr. Salt had learned that it had reached England, he lost no time in renewing his former offer to the Museum, which had so long remained without notice. Great difficulties, however, in the mean while, had arisen from Belzoni's claim on the sarcophagus, which gave Salt's agent, Mr. Richards, much trouble in arranging, owing to his previous ignorance that any agreement existed on the subject. Salt had indeed made Sir Joseph Banks acquainted with the circumstance, but the death of the latter rendered the communication of no avail, as it appears never to have transpired, or at least to have been forgotten. It therefore excited considerable surprise in Mr. Richards, soon after the arrival of the sarcophagus in England, to receive a visit from Mr. Belzoni, through whom he first gained information of the conditional claim which Belzoni had upon this curious and valuable piece of antiquity,—the latter at the same

time producing the agreement between him and Mr. Salt, and strongly *opposing* the sarcophagus being sent to the British Museum.

This representation occasioned Mr. Richards some embarrassment: the orders from Mr. Salt positively directed him to deliver the sarcophagus to the Museum, while the agreement between Messrs. Salt and Belzoni made him hesitate in the course he was to pursue, lest in delivering the article to the Trustees of the Museum, without a previous valuation of it, he might be compromising the interests both of Salt and Belzoni. In the mean while, the latter had applied to the captain of the ship, as well as to Mr. Briggs, who chanced to be in London, to get the sarcophagus detained on board the vessel, in consequence of the agreement he held, till such time as he could address a memorial to the Trustees to permit him to take possession of the article and exhibit it to the public. The delay he asked for, it appears, was granted, but the prayer of his memorial was refused. While these proceedings were going on, Mr. Richards, who held the bill of lading, and was anxious chiefly for the interest of Mr. Salt, thought it advisable to consult with the friends of the latter upon the delicate situation in which he felt himself placed; and he accordingly addressed a letter to Mr. Hamilton, asking advice on the occasion. The following is an extract from it, which will explain his own view of the question.

"TO WILLIAM HAMILTON, ESQ.

"London, 12th of Sept. 1821.

"* * * I subsequently found it necessary to write to Lord Mountnorris and Mr. Charles Yorke upon the subject of Belzoni's apprehensions that, if the sarcophagus went to the Museum without a previous valuation, he might not obtain any thing for his contingent interest, whereas it

appears, by his own statement, that the sarcophagus can be sold for three thousand pounds, which makes his interest in it amount to five hundred pounds. Both the gentlemen above-named have answered at length upon the subject, and the result is, that they cannot authorise me, or approve of my deviating from Mr. Salt's orders.

"I now learn that Belzoni has petitioned the Trustees of the Museum, through Mr. Planta, to allow him to exhibit the sarcophagus, and it is supposed that *you* have sanctioned the application. Should this be the case, and should it be decided upon in favour of Mr. Belzoni, I cannot object to it, but must claim such guarantee, or indemnity, as may be satisfactory, for having given up the possession of this valuable article; and I trust that you will clearly see the situation of responsibility in which I am placed as holder of the bill of lading. I should be sorry to do anything which might increase, or keep alive any irritation between Mr. Salt and Mr. Belzoni, but I have no power to accede to any plan that may be proposed even for Mr. Salt's interest. I am his agent only to a certain extent, and if his friends, who are better able to judge, think proper to interfere with, or alter his instructions to me, I must be held harmless to the fullest extent. All this is under a supposition that some arrangements may be in contemplation to favour Mr. Belzoni's views; but, at the same time I cannot think that the Trustees, or anybody else, will authorise me to deliver the bill of lading, or the sarcophagus, to any third person. It appears that Mr. Belzoni has so far influenced the agents of the Diana, as to procure a delay in the landing of the articles, merely as an act of courtesy towards him, in expectation of his obtaining permission to take possession.

"I am, &c. &c. BINGHAM RICHARDS."

To this letter I do not find any reply, but it appears by the following from Belzoni to Mr. Richards, which is quite

characteristic of the man, that Mr. Hamilton had given no sanction to the above application made through Mr. Planta to the Trustees.

"SIR, "Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, Sept. 17, 1821.

"Having seen Mr. Hamilton since I saw you, I was not a little surprised to find, that you made a complaint against me in consequence of the delay of the alabaster sarcophagus, from the Diana frigate. Though it is immaterial to me to whom you complain, I beg you for the future to be more cautious in making use of my name on such unfounded insinuation and intrigues.

"Yours, &c. G. BELZONI.

"To Mr. Richards, Broker."

To this *courteous* letter Mr. Richards felt it unnecessary to reply, and contented himself by writing on the cover the following appropriate lines:—

"Picciol' anima fece monna natura
In corpo di grandissima statura."

At any rate it does not seem probable that Mr. Hamilton could have had any concern in the memorial to the Trustees, as it was only about a fortnight before that he wrote as follows, in answer to an application from Mr. Richards respecting the disposal of the sarcophagus.

"GENTLEMEN, "Foreign Office, Aug. 30, 1821.

"I cannot take upon myself to authorize *any* deviation from Mr. Salt's instructions respecting his sarcophagus, nor was I aware of Mr. Belzoni's intention to make such a claim. I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

"WILLIAM HAMILTON."

"To Messrs. Bingham Richards, &c."

Nearly at the same time Mr. Richards addressed the folowing letter to Mr. Charles Yorke, and a similar one to

Lord Mountnorris and others among Mr. Salt's friends, stating his unpleasant situation and requesting advice.

TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES YORKE.

"DEAR SIR, "London, Sept. 7, 1821.

"Since I had the honour of your company at my house to see Mr. Salt's drawings, &c. I have received a bill of lading of the celebrated sarcophagus and some other pieces of ancient sculpture, which are arrived in the Diana Turkish frigate from Alexandria, and will be landed in a few days; but I am somewhat in a dilemma respecting the sarcophagus, and wish for your opinion, as Mr. Salt's friend. He directs me to deliver the sarcophagus, and all other pieces, to the British Museum in deposit for him, as before, against a receipt that they are so deposited as his property. This appears to be in consequence of an agreement or contract, which however I have never seen, between the Trustees of the British Museum and Mr. Salt, or some one on his behalf, by which they agree to take all his Collection at a valuation to be subsequently made. Mr. Belzoni has waited upon me with an agreement in Mr. Salt's handwriting, and regularly signed and sealed, wherein it is specified that he (Belzoni) is entitled to one half share of the produce of the sarcophagus, over and above the sum of two thousand pounds; Mr. Belzoni has thus an interest in this item, and he is fearful that if the sarcophagus goes to the Museum, there will be no probability of his obtaining anything at all, whereas he has at this present moment an offer of three thousand pounds for it, which would of course secure to him five hundred pounds, and he expresses an anxiety that the sarcophagus should not go to the Museum upon an uncertainty as to its value, lest it should not be in Mr. Salt's power to take it away and dispose of it elsewhere, provided the sum, which the Trustees may value it at be not equivalent at least

to that now offered. I have no sort of authority to deviate from Mr. Salt's instructions, nor should I feel disposed to hesitate at all, or to ask an opinion upon the subject, were it not with a view of serving Mr. Salt's interests. You will therefore much oblige me by giving me your ideas upon it. Perhaps you may know more about the agreement, or contract, with the Trustees, but to me it appears that they are, or ought to be, bound to give the highest value that the article will fetch, and, in case of difference, there is no power in them to retain, or withhold the sarcophagus, if Mr. Salt should demand it in order to obtain a better price for it than the Trustees would give. Mr. Hamilton writes to me that he cannot authorise any deviation from Mr. Salt's instructions, I shall in like manner consult Lord Mountnorris. I beg leave to apologize for troubling you; but Mr. Salt has mentioned your name in case of any advice being wanted, and I am fully aware of your abilities to give it.

" I am, &c. &c. BINGHAM RICHARDS.

" To the Right Hon. Charles Yorke, &c."

FROM THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES YORKE, IN REPLY TO THE PRECEDING.

" DEAR SIR, " Boningtons, Sept. 10, 1821.

" I have had the honour of your letter of the 7th, respecting the sarcophagus, &c. sent home by Mr. Salt; and in answer to your query, entertain no doubt that you cannot be considered as authorised to depart from Mr. Salt's instructions, being ' *in deposit* the sarcophagus and other pieces in the British Museum for him, against a receipt that they are so deposited as his property.' With this, as I conceive, Mr. Belzoni has nothing to do, having only a contingent interest in the event of the produce amounting to upwards of two thousand pounds. With respect to the *value* of these articles, it is a subsequent consideration. I cannot allow myself to doubt that the Trustees of the Museum will act liberally

on behalf of the public; and that the offer you mention as having been made will have its due weight in finally adjusting the price to be paid to Mr. Salt; provided it is an offer made *here* and upon a *British account*. Because you will not fail to observe, that the *value* to be put on these articles, on behalf of Mr. Salt, is a mixed consideration; in as much as he probably could never have acquired them, or been in the way so to do, (or Mr. Belzoni either,) had it not been for the *public character* with which he had been invested by the British *Government*, and the influence derived *from thence* on the mind and intentions of the Vizir Mahomet Ali:—consequently it appears to me, that no offer made on a *foreign* account, or with the view of exporting the articles in question to a *foreign* country, can, or will be admissible. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to agree entirely with Mr. Hamilton's opinion; and the rather, because, (as I have said before), I cannot allow myself to doubt that the Trustees of the British Museum will, *as they ought*, act handsomely by Mr. Salt and Mr. Belzoni also. I shall be in town for a few days this week, and will endeavour to have the honour of calling on you.

"I remain, dear Sir,

"Yours very faithfully, C. YORKE.

"To Bingham Richards, Esq."

EXTRACTS FROM LORD MOUNTNORRIS'S LETTERS IN REPLY TO BINGHAM RICHARDS, ESQ.

"MY DEAR RICHARDS, "Arley Hall, Sept. 9, 1821.

"I have received your letter respecting the antiquities forwarded by Mr. Salt, and, as you desire, I sit down to give you every information in my power as to any agreement with the British Museum respecting them. By a letter, dated 10th of June 1818, Mr. Salt made an offer to the Trustees of the British Museum, of all the antiquities in his possession, of which he gave a general account, and sent a list of the

larger articles, in which the alabaster sarcophagus is included. He at the same time offered 'to leave the price to Mr. Hamilton, or any other person Government might appoint.' * * To the best of my knowledge, no engagement has been *regularly* entered into by Mr. Salt and the Government; but I understood that the Trustees had accepted Mr. Salt's original proposal, and that both parties had continued to act upon it. The Admiralty took some measures † to get the articles over, and the whole were admitted free of duty, in consideration of their being lodged in the British Museum. You have, I believe, been regularly directed by Mr. Salt to deposit there the whole Collection. * * * I wish you to consider whether, in case Mr. Salt and Mr. Belzoni should have the power to dispose of the sarcophagus to the best bidder, and they should be inclined to do so, they would be any gainers by so doing. The duty has been remitted solely on condition of its being deposited in the British Museum, subjected to the agreement entered on, and if this agreement should be violated by Messrs. Salt and Belzoni, will not Government refuse to give it up without receiving the duty? I should think they would; for, if intended for sale, they never remit the duty on any article whatsoever. I believe, too, the sarcophagus is subject to an ad valorem duty, and you can best judge whether the duty would not more than counterbalance the difference between the price that may be fixed by the Trustees, and the three thousand pounds which Mr. Belzoni *says* he can get for it. * * * I am no lawyer, but I should think that Mr. Belzoni has no lien on the sarcophagus itself, or any right to interfere in the sale of it; but that when sold, he can recover from Mr. Salt a moiety of what it may produce over and above two thousand

† These measures were taken in consequence of Mr. Salt's offer to the Trustees, through Sir Joseph Banks, in May 1819, and not on account of the original proposal in 1818, which Mr. Salt had certainly no reason to suppose had in any respect been accepted.—E.

pounds. I agree with you that your duty is clear, and that you must deposit it according to the instructions you have received from Mr. Salt. * * * Mr. Belzoni should procure *in writing* any proposal which may have been made him for purchasing the sarcophagus, as *verbal* offers can have no weight with the valuators. * * * Belzoni cannot plead that he did not know Salt meant to collect for the Museum, for he speaks of it in his work, and even says that he would not have undertaken to collect for him if he had not believed the produce was for the public. Now if so, how could Salt sell, or he have a share in the produce? * * * I have no doubt that you must send the sarcophagus to the Museum. * * *

Signed, "MOUNTNORRIS."

FROM MR. RICHARDS'S FATHER TO HIS SON.

"MY DEAR BINGHAM, 10th Sept. 1821.

"I have received yours of the 8th instant, with copy of a letter on the subject of the sarcophagus. I think you cannot with safety towards yourself deviate from your orders; but deliver it to the British Museum according to your instructions. You ought not to know anything of Belzoni, or his arrangements with Salt. It is *possible* that the whole may be a forgery to obtain possession of the article; and although it may not be probable, yet there is no reason that you should run the least shadow of risk for the advantage of any correspondent whatever. Indeed I go farther and suppose even that if Belzoni should bring the three thousand pounds in bank notes and take your bill of lading, I do not think you would be justified in deviating from your instructions, and you might be liable to an action for damages by the Trustees of the British Museum.

"I am your affectionate father,

"THEOPHILUS RICHARDS."

"Mr. Bingham Richards."

These various letters having confirmed Mr. Richards in his original idea of sending the sarcophagus to the British Museum, he immediately applied, through Mr. Briggs, to the Turkish Captain of the Diana, to deliver it into his hands. He received the annexed reply:

" My dear Sir, " Gould Square, 20th Sept. 1821.

" In compliance with the wish expressed in your letter of this morning, I will request the Captain of the Turkish frigate to fix a time that may be convenient to deliver to you the sarcophagus, and will acquaint you with his answer. He is now engaged in landing the ship's stores, but that, I imagine, can cause no impediment. I certainly was of opinion, when the memorial to the Trustees of the Museum was shown to me, that it was for the advantage of all parties to wait the decision of the Trustees before removing it, as it seemed equally to conciliate the interests of the Trustees, with those of Mr. Salt and Mr. Belzoni; but since you have ascertained that the application of Mr. Belzoni cannot be granted, I shall acquaint him that after giving him every indulgence by not pressing the delivery in the first instance, you think there cannot now be any farther ground for delay.

" I am, dear sir, yours very truly, S. Briggs."

" B. Richards, Esq."

On the following day Mr. Briggs again wrote to Mr. Richards, and fixed a time for the removal of the article from the ship, when it was delivered, on the production of the bill of lading, and finally placed in the Museum. While these transactions were passing, Mr. Richards had written to Mr. Salt, to acquaint him with the difficulties that had occurred as to the sarcophagus, and to request, as it had been required by the Trustees, that some legal instrument should be sent home formally appointing him his agent

in the business. Mr. J. W. Bankes and Mr. Belzoni also wrote to Mr. Salt about the same period. I have neither the letter of the former nor the reply; but that of the latter is as follows, and appears to be written in his usually impatient spirit.

" Sir, " London, Jan. 24, 1822.

" Finding it necessary that you should be acquainted of what passes here concerning the alabaster sarcophagus specified in our agreement made in Cairo on the 20th of April 1818, I take this opportunity to acquaint you, that an offer of three thousand pounds for the said sarcophagus is now standing, the money ready to be paid on the moment of delivery of the said sarcophagus to the purchasers; the offer is made by some speculators from the Continent, and I acquainted the honourable members, Trustees of the British Museum, by a memorial, of the above circumstances, together with a copy of our agreement, and I offered to deposit two thousand and five hundred pounds in the hands of your banker on the delivery of the said sarcophagus to the purchasers. Five hundred pounds more would remain in my hands as the share specified in the agreement. I received in answer, that my memorial has been laid before the general meeting of the Trustees, and that it will again be brought before them, when Mr. Salt will make his regular offer of the Collection. You must recollect that in our agreement you engage yourself to offer the said sarcophagus of alabaster to the British Museum, at a fair valuation, within the space of three years, which time has now elapsed and nine months more, and it is in consequence of your delay, according to agreement, that no decision can take place in the disposal of said sarcophagus.

" Under these circumstances you must be aware, that if the chances of selling the said sarcophagus are lost, owing to your delay, according to agreement, and with the docu-

ments I possess, I shall claim the said loss to be reimbursed to me by you; for had you made the said offer in due time, the said sarcophagus would have been disposed either to the British Museum, where you know it has been my sanguine wishes to see it permanently lodged, or at least, if the honourable members, Trustees of the British Museum, should think it proper not to purchase it, it would have been disposed of to the best offer, which chance may be lost owing to your delay. I sincerely hope that you will take this matter into consideration, and make the said offer according to agreement, as soon as you will answer to other matters in this country, so that all may end in an amicable manner, as it is my wish that differences of this kind should not be brought before the public.

"It is necessary that your answer should arrive in this country before the closing of Parliament, as your offer then would be taken into notice this session. The cover of the sarcophagus in granite belonging to me, as it is inserted in our agreement, and which was taken down on my own expenses, &c. went along with the rest of the Collection in the British Museum. I beg you will have the goodness to acknowledge to your agent that the said cover is my property. The pieces which form part of the cover of the sarcophagus of alabaster are not arrived yet in this country; they are deposited in Mr. Briggs's warehouse, packed up in a mat, and are much wanted here. I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant, G. BELZONI."

"To Henry Salt, Esq.,
H. B. M. Consul-General in Cairo."

HENRY SALT, ESQ., IN REPLY TO SIGNOR G. BELZONI.

"SIR,

"In answer to your letter of the 24th of January, I have to inform you, that in compliance with our agreement, I made an offer of the sarcophagus, with the rest of my Collection, to

the British Museum, through the late Sir Joseph Banks, so far back as the *year* 1819, and, to satisfy your mind, I enclose you a copy of that part of the letter which refers to the sarcophagus.* I also, at the same time, communicated, by writing, the circumstance of my having made that offer to the Earl of Mountnorris, the Right Hon. Charles Yorke, Mr. Hamilton, and, I think, verbally to Mr. Bankes, and it was in consequence of that offer that I forwarded my Collection to the British Museum, and that the Government took upon itself the conveyance of a great part of the Collection to England. So that you cannot, I conceive, in this respect have any thing to complaim of on my part.

"To prevent any farther delay, which is, you must be aware, more prejudicial to my interest than to yours, I again write on this subject to the Trustees, and have to hope that some conclusion may be come to in the course of this season. The pieces of the cover of the sarcophagus, I am glad to inform you, have been found by Mr. Lee in Mr. Briggs's warehouse, where he conceives they must have been deposited, through a mistake by you, instead of in the Shumat. I shall send them by the first opportunity to the Museum. With respect to the cover of the sarcophagus of granite belonging to you in two pieces, I can assure you that it is not my affair. It was Mr. Lee who forwarded it by that conveyance, and I will write to him to explain the matter to the Keeper of the Museum. I will also write to my agent, as you desire, on the subject. I have the honour to be, Sir, your very obedient humble Servant, HENRY SALT.

"Cairo, May 10th, 1822.

"My absence from Cairo on a tour into Upper Egypt, prevented my receiving your letter until a few days back."

"To Signor G. Belzoni."

* Here follows the extract of Salt's letter to Sir Joseph Banks, under date 28th of May, 1819, already given.—E.

It is evident, from the above letter, that no delay could with justice be imputed to Mr. Salt as to the *time* of his offering the sarcophagus to the British Museum, though it appears a little remarkable that Belzoni should *not* have heard long before of the offer being made in 1819, as he was acquainted with Sir Joseph Banks and Mr. Hamilton in the early part of 1820, the latter of whom says, in a letter to Lord Mountnorris, dated March the 27th, 1820: "I have seen Belzoni more than once, * * * and he does ample justice to the richness of Salt's Collection of Egyptian antiquities." So that it is clear the Collection had been the subject of conversation between them, and in that case it seems singular that no notice of the offer should have been taken.

At this period Mr. Salt addressed the following letter to Mr. Yorkeon the subject of his second offer of his Collection to the Trustees of the British Museum:—

HENRY SALT, ESQ. TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES YORKE.

"Cairo, May 10th, 1822.

"My dear Sir,

"Being anxious to bring to a conclusion the affair of my Egyptian antiquities, I have thought it right to repeat the offer I before made, through Sir Joseph Banks, of my Collection to the British Museum, addressed directly to the Trustees of that establishment; and I have been more particularly induced to this step from learning, through Mr. Belzoni, that such a letter was expected on my part before the Trustees could come to any decision on the subject. I now take the liberty of inclosing you a copy of my letter, and have to solicit that you will have the goodness to continue your kind offices to me on this occasion, in promoting my interests with the Government towards obtaining for me

such a remuneration as may be fairly judged adequate to the expenses, interest of money, and risk incurred.

" The times, I am aware, are very unpropitious to such a negotiation at this moment; but my circumstances are such as to render it more advantageous to my interests to receive less and soon than to be put off to an indefinite time, even were I to receive more in the end. I have before explained to you the particular circumstances that attended the offer made through Sir Joseph Banks. I confess that my views have in some degree been altered by the change in my condition and my having a family, but still more so from the precariousness of my general health, which too strongly warns me of the necessity of procuring some provision, in case of my death, for those I shall leave behind. The kind view, however, which you have taken of my interests in your last letter, leaves me nothing to add on this subject.

" Believe me, my dear Sir,

" Your very grateful obedient servant, H. S.

" P.S. I have to thank you most sincerely for the permission you were good enough to procure for me to pass a year on the Continent: unfortunately, the affairs of Turkey have been too precarious to admit of my absenting myself, more especially as the only person I could have entrusted with the Consulate, Mr. Briggs, has not yet returned to Egypt. I have to hope that Russia may be induced to come to terms, or otherwise, however much my health may suffer, I shall not venture to quit my post.—H. S."

" To the Right Hon. Charles Yorke, M.P., &c. &c."

For some time after the whole Collection was lodged in the British Museum, the Trustees appear to have come to no resolution respecting Mr. Salt's original proposition; and it was not till September 1822 that Mr. Richards received

any official intimation of their proceedings, though it appears, by the following letter addressed to him by Mr. Combe, that a resolution had been passed in the preceding month of May altogether rejecting the sarcophagus.

FROM MR. TAYLOR COMBE TO B. RICHARDS, ESQ.

" British Museum, 20th Sept. 1822.

" DEAR SIR,

" The following is a copy of the Resolution of the Trustees which I mentioned to you last night. I remain, dear Sir,

" Very truly yours, TAYLOR COMBE.

' May 11th, 1822.

' Mr. Bankes laid before the meeting a letter which his son, Mr. William Bankes, had received from Mr. Salt, dated Cairo, 6th January 1822, stating that the whole of the Egyptian antiquities assembled by him were now safely arrived in England, and expressing a hope that the Trustees will come to a determination as to the purchase of them for the Museum.

' *Resolved*—That it be requested of Mr. William Bankes that he will have the goodness to state, in his answer to Mr. Salt, that the Trustees are desirous that Mr. Salt should appoint some person on his own part to make a valuation of the Egyptian Collection. The Trustees decline the alabaster sarcophagus, on account of the very high value put upon it by Mr. Belzoni.' "

The above resolution had, agreeably to the wishes of the Trustees, been communicated to Mr. Salt by Mr. William Bankes; but the letter appears to have been somewhat delayed, and in the mean while Richards had received, in August 1822, a regular power of attorney from Mr. Salt to act as his *special* agent in the business. He being, however, at that time in ignorance of what had been determined by

the Trustees, began to grow uneasy at their apparent delay, and in consequence addressed a letter to Mr. William Bankes on the subject, from whom he received the annexed reply.

FROM WILLIAM J. BANKES, ESQ. TO BINGHAM RICHARDS, ESQ.

"Soughton Hall, Sept. 23rd, 1822.

"SIR,

"I have to acknowledge your letter of the 17th relating to Mr. Salt's concerns, from whom I also have received communications at considerable length, dated May last, though it does not appear from them that he had yet received my last advices. In these, from the warm interest I have always taken in his transactions, and from the near relation that I bear to some of the most active among the Trustees of the British Museum, I not only communicated to him an official note from the Trustees themselves, but entered very much at large into what I know to be their views, and into what line I should advise him to pursue. At their suggestion, I pointed out to him the propriety of his empowering some one, or some persons, in this country to represent and take care of his interests in the valuation to be put upon his Collection; I have therefore great satisfaction in learning that he has *of himself* nominated you, as by this preliminary step the sole difficulty is removed that has hitherto presented itself to a speedy and final arrangement of the matter. The official note which I transmitted contained a peremptory refusal of the sarcophagus on the part of the Trustees, 'on account of the high price put upon it by Mr. Belzoni.' I did not, therefore, hesitate to advise my friend to lose no time in making that over at once to Mr. Belzoni for the sum which he has professed himself ready to deposit in payment for it, as not only the sole means of silencing so troublesome and vexatious a claimant,

(who I am very sure would be capable, should it be otherwise disposed of, of harassing Mr. Salt with lawsuits that might lead into great expense,) but also as looking legitimately to his own interests, since I happen to know that the utmost value set upon the sarcophagus in a meeting of the Trustees, assembled for the purpose, was *considerably under one thousand pounds.* Mr. Salt, therefore, by their official note being set at full liberty to seek another purchaser, appears to me to owe it to himself and his family to accept the best offer that has been made; and I have no scruple in recommending you to do so in his name, especially as by this expedient so unpleasant a sort of partnership is done away with.

" I have also a copy of Belzoni's letter to him, dated the 24th of January, and have only to say upon it that the pretexts for complaint contained in it are wholly groundless, and that I believe the writer himself *knows* them to be so. The Collection has been formally offered to the Museum long since, (of which I am very willing to appear, and my father also can appear, as a witness,) insomuch that the vote of the Museum upon the sarcophagus was in reply to that offer; and the only impediment to an arrangement concerning the remainder was the non-appearance of any person authorised to treat on Mr. Salt's part, he expecting to be himself at that time very shortly in England. No sort of deduction or abatement should, therefore, be admitted in Belzoni's offer on the score of interest or any other pretext. When once the sarcophagus shall have produced so large a sum, there will be, I conceive, no sort of difficulty in carrying up the remaining articles to complete *more* than the five thousand pounds which Mr. Salt has, I think, a good right to expect for the whole, and possibly to something still more considerable, this appearing to me to be *within* their value: I will take care, however, that after the Parlia-

ment meets, (which will bring all the Trustees to London,) no time shall be lost in bringing matters to a final settlement, which will, I trust, prove satisfactory to all parties. I see no sort of necessity for delaying till then the transfer of the sarcophagus to Belzoni, as the note of the Trustees respecting it was both official and final; and upon your producing your power of attorney from Mr. Salt, the sarcophagus would be delivered up by the officers of the Museum as you should direct. I have the honour to be

"Yours truly, WILLIAM JOHN BANKES."

"To Bingham Richards, Esq."

On the receipt of this clear and judicious letter, and of several others from different friends of Mr. Salt, Mr. Richards lost no time in ascertaining the residence of Mr. Belzoni, and in writing him the following letter:—

"London, 1st of Oct. 1822.

"SIR,

"I am now authorised by Mr. Salt to manage all his interests respecting his Collection; and in my mercantile capacity, my first object must be to obtain the most I can for him. Therefore, much as I might individually wish the sarcophagus to remain in the British Museum, still, in consideration of the small value it is likely to be estimated at by the Trustees, I think it will be better to dispose of it elsewhere, and to invite you to unite with me to obtain as much as possible for it. As you may be some time absent, I request you to inform me to whom I may offer it for the sum mentioned by you in your memorial to the Trustees. Mr. Salt has written a very satisfactory answer to your letter of the 24th of January last, which I hope you have received, as it was sent, I understand, to Mr. Murray early in the last month. I am, Sir,

"Truly yours, B. RICHARDS."

"To Signor Belzoni, Paris."

A few days after writing the above, in consequence of some difficulties having unexpectedly arisen as to the delivery of the sarcophagus, Mr. Richards explained the unpleasant predicament in which he was placed in the subjoined letter to Mr. William Bankes.

" London, 10th of Oct. 1822.

" Sir,

" Upon the receipt of your letter of the 23rd ult., which perfectly coincided with my own ideas, I lost no time in tracing Mr. Belzoni, for the purpose of offering the sarcophagus to his buyer: I found he was at Paris fixing his tomb, and I wrote to him. It appears that he had received Mr. Salt's letter, and came to London immediately; so that he called upon me on Monday last, having left Paris before my letter could have reached him. He is quite positive as to the value he can obtain for the sarcophagus, but is fully impressed with a notion that the Trustees of the British Museum will not deliver it up, and that even if they do, the Government will not allow it to be exported. In both points there does not appear to me the least foundation for his apprehensions. The Trustees have given a receipt for it as the property of Mr. Salt, and they have declined to purchase it, according to their minute of the 11th of May last: the only possible claim they can have upon it is for the charges of removal from the Diana frigate to the Museum, which I shall be glad to repay them. In respect to the Government, although it certainly did intend to convey the whole of Salt's Collection to England, under an idea that it was to remain here, it so happens that this identical item was not brought over at the expense or trouble of any persons employed by Government; and the only lien upon it is for fifty pounds duty, which was not paid, in consequence of its going to the Museum, but which I shall pay if it goes elsewhere. I am aware that it is the opinion of Mr. Charles

Yorke that the Government can oblige Mr. Salt to sell his Collection to the British Museum at a fair valuation, and without reference to a foreign offer: this is, however, only an opinion, and it does not appear that the Trustees are disposed to interfere to that effect. Mr. Belzoni requires me to guarantee to him in a legal form the certain and immediate delivery of the sarcophagus, upon his causing the money to be paid into a banker's hands: I tell him that I cannot do more than give him an order to the officers of the Museum to deliver it to bearer. He has ascertained, which is correct, that the officers cannot act without the sanction of the Trustees, and that this could not be had till the 9th of November, and most probably not till a more full meeting later in the year, as the first after the recess is seldom attended. Had the Trustees completed their minute of the 11th of May, 'The Trustees decline the alabaster sarcophagus,' &c. by adding, '*and it is consequently placed at the disposal of Mr. Salt,*' there can be no doubt that the officers might have delivered it without farther reference to them the Trustees. Belzoni is going to Paris to-morrow, and I have promised to inform him with all speed whether I can satisfy him as to the certainty of delivery or not, for he will not expose himself to the stigma of having disposed of an article which he could not immediately obtain; and as he thinks the delay may be injurious, he suggested that probably your near relation, Mr. Bankes, might furnish me with something to warrant an undertaking to deliver, which I would not scruple to give, in order that there may be no impediment towards a ready sale. * * *

"In respect to the rest of Mr. Salt's Collection, I shall be ready to apply to the gentlemen whom he has named as his valuers whenever it is desired; but the Collection will not be complete until the two cases of mummies of sacred animals are arrived. You say in your letter that 'upon my

producing my power of attorney from Mr. Salt, the sarcophagus would be delivered up by the officers of the Museum.' This, however, was not the case in regard to the granite sarcophagus for Lord Mountnorris, sent to the Museum by mistake; for, notwithstanding the officers were aware of it, they could not deliver it without the sanction of the Trustees, for which I had to wait some weeks. I merely allude to this to show you that, though you are perfectly right as to what might be done, still the practice is not such.

"There is an idea afloat that the public would by a subscription make up the amount of three thousand pounds for the sarcophagus rather than that it should go to another country, and I am inclined to think that an appeal to its national pride would not be unsuccessful. I thank you on behalf of Mr. Salt for the warm interest you take in this business, and, soliciting a continuance of your friendly aid and advice, I have the honour to be, &c. BINGHAM RICHARDS."

"To William J. Bankes, Esq."

This letter for some reason did not receive an immediate reply, probably because no directions *could* be given to the officers of the Museum by any individual Trustee without the consent of the rest of the body; and Mr. Richards was therefore obliged to wait with patience till after the recess. In the mean while, a letter reached him from Belzoni, of which the following is in *all* respects an *exact* copy.

"Paris, 1st Nov. 1822,
Rue de Helder Hotel de Helder

"SIR,

"According to our last understanding I have been in expactation to hear that an order to the Kipar of the British Museum had been send from the warthy Mr. Bankes, for the purposes of enabling you to take out the Surcophagus of Alabaster now deposited in the British Museum, and ac-

cording to the wish of Mr. Salt that it may be desposed of to the best advantage, as the Trustees have desided against pursasing of it, and as I acquinted them and you long seince that I have offers from other quarters where it may be disposed of advantagiously for both party, Mr. Salt and myself, for ready mony and much aboue what the Trustees will offer at any time or circumstances, notwisstanding the said Surcophagus been depriciated in the house of Comon by the worthy Mr. Bankes the friend of Mr. Salt — I expectad that the worthy president Mr. Bankes would have esued the above order without Eistatson, I cannot undestang what prociding mean to adopt Mr. Bankes in this affair, but he must be awere that if the British Museum refuses to pursase the Surcophagus oweing to the high price put by me, as he Mr. Bankes please to say, he cannot keep it in the British Museum but he must retourn it to the Ouners, I mean Mr. Salt and myself, as to the high price put by me, Mr. Bankes junor was the medium by which Mr. Salt and *myself* was offered 10,000 dolars in Thebes for the said Surcophagus preuious to its been taken out of the Tomb, and can Testifie this circumstance, that I alone *insisted* that it should be send to Ingland and to be offered to the British Museum in preference to any other pursasers, I cinciarly wish that this matar may comes to an end in a friendly maner, but I fear it will not be so oweing to the eroneous prociding taken by the honorable Messrs. Bankes against me, I hope also it will not be necessary to Inforce the Low to obtain what is justly due to me, for such Mass of facts would apear before the publick, that would rise the Indignation of every onest Inglishman, and I am realy astonished how an honorable body of Men like the Trustees of the British Museum can late themselfs be persuaded away by the wrong sugestions of two or three Indiuduals, whose motiues for so doing are

euident, I hope Mr. Bankes will reflect that the low in Ingland is administrated for a Stranger on the sam scole with an Inglishman, though he may be related to poiple of influence, as he, Mr. B——, boast to be. I shall wait your answer to this as early as posible that I may act acordingly. I have the pleasure to remain,

My dear sir,

Your truly, G. BELZONI,"

To this letter, Mr. Richards in the absence of any communication from Mr. William Bankes, could only send a polite, though not a very satisfactory, reply; but the time was now approaching, when the first meeting of the Trustees was likely to take place after the recess; and when it seemed probable the whole business would be finally arranged. In December, Mr. Richards got the following letter from Mr. Combe upon the subject.

" DEAR SIR, " British Museum, Dec. 13th, 1822."

" We shall most probably have a general meeting at the Museum to-morrow; I say *probably*, because it must depend upon the number of Trustees that may be able to come to us. It will be necessary, I think, that your appointment as agent to Mr. Salt, in the valuation and sale of his Collection, should be laid before the Board, and at present we have no document to that effect. Pray, therefore, have the goodness to send me in the course of to-day, any paper which you may think sufficient for this purpose.

I remain, dear Sir,

Very truly your's, TAYLOR COMBE."

" Bingham Richards, Esq. &c."

In consequence of this application, Mr. Richards forwarded his power of attorney authorising him to act as Mr.

Salt's agent, to Mr. Combe; but, as that gentleman had apprehended, the meeting of the Trustees was too thinly attended to admit of any business being transacted, and Mr. Salt's affairs, therefore, stood over till Saturday, in the second week of the ensuing February, 1823.—On the last day of the year, Mr. Richards again heard from Mr. Belzoni.

"Dear Sir, "No. 6, Half-Moon Street, Dec. 31st, 1822.

"I am just arrived to pay my last visit to Ingland, at least for some time, I am sorry I have not the pleasure to meet you in Town to settle, as far as we can, the affair of Alabaster Surcophagus, which must come to a determination in one way or the other. I leave the choice to the Trustees to pursase it, or to let other have it, on more advantagious Termes than what they offer themselves, and if their Precident is still obstinate in refusing to retourn the properiety of other, I am ditermined to troy how far the low of Ingland can be inforced against injustice and harogance. I shall be happy to know if I shall have the pleasure to see you in Town soon, as I shall stay here only few Days, and leave this affair in the hands of an able advocate, permit me the pleasure of wishing you happy new year, and believe me to be, My dear Sir,

Your's truly, G. BELZONI."

"Bingham Richards, Esq."

MR. RICHARDS IN REPLY TO THE PRECEDING.

"SIR, "Edgbaston, 1st of January, 1823."

"I have received the favour of your note of yesterday which has met me on my return home from a visit to Lord Mountnorris, at Arley Hall, near Bewdley. He is paving the way, to the utmost of his power, to bring the Trustees of the British Museum to purchase the sarcophagus. They sent for my power of attorney expecting there would be a

meeting in December ; but, when I called, I found only four of the Trustees had attended, which were *too few* to enter upon the business; and I am assured that no effective general meeting will be likely to take place before the third Saturday in February. I hope to be in town next week. Should you leave before that, pray let me have *your address*, that I may inform you of anything interesting. I return your kind wishes for a happy new year, which is better than a merry Christmas.

I am your's truly, BINGHAM RICHARDS."

"G. Belzoni, Esq."

Before Mr. Richards's return, Mr. Belzoni had quitted London, and the above letter appears to have been the last communication that passed between them.

Previously to the expected meeting of the Trustees, Mr. Richards addressed the following letter to Mr. Planta at the Museum, to acquaint him that Mr. Salt's entire Collection had then reached England, and to request that the offer of it to the Museum might be taken into consideration as speedily as possible.

TO J. P. PLANTA, ESQ.

"DEAR SIR, "London, Jan. 8th, 1823.

"As Mr. Salt's Collection is now complete by the arrival of the two missing cases of mummies of sacred animals, I trust that the offer which he has made of the whole to the Trustees of the British Museum, by his letter of the 10th of May 1822, will be taken into immediate consideration, and as my views upon the subject as his attorney, agent, and friend, may be inquired into, I shall feel much obliged to you to state generally that it is wished that the whole should remain in the British Museum, in preference to any other, for which purpose it has been collected, under the auspices

and by the encouragement, in the first instance, of the late Sir Joseph Banks. Mr. Salt has dedicated his time and property to this object, even to the extent of neglecting his private interests, leaving it to others to amuse and instruct the public, while he quietly and unostentatiously persevered in the object he had in view, viz. to put his native country in possession of the most interesting and valuable relics of ancient art which Egypt could produce.

"From various circumstances, known to Mr. Salt's friends, it is not at all to be doubted that he has actually *spent* upwards of three thousand pounds* in making the Collection, and as great part of this disbursement was made some years ago, at the risk of losing the whole, it is presumed that he could not be any very considerable gainer if that amount were returned to him twofold; but I know that his hopes and expectations do not exceed five thousand pounds for the whole, including the alabaster sarcophagus. Respecting this last-named article much has been said on account of a contingent interest which Mr. Belzoni has in it, according to a contract between Mr. Salt and himself, viz. that any sum which it might produce above two thousand pounds should be shared equally between them. This contract arose from the circumstance (well known to several gentlemen in Egypt) of Mr. Salt's having refused two offers, one from Monsieur Drovetti on behalf of the French Government, and one from Baron Minutoli, on behalf of the Prussian, each of ten thousand dollars (equivalent to two thousand pounds), made at Thebes, before it was removed, and as it was conceived that the risk and expense of transporting it to England would be worth at least fifty per cent. upon its value on the spot, it was thought right by Mr. Salt to give Mr. Belzoni a chance

* Mr. Richards, who was intimately acquainted with Mr. Salt's affairs, estimates, in one of his letters, the whole amount of the expense, in principal, interest, &c. at four thousand pounds.

of obtaining farther remuneration for the trouble he would have in superintending the removal; and, in order to satisfy him, Mr. Salt has requested that this item might be separately valued, not doubting that its value at Thebes would be taken as the basis in England.

"It is not, however, at all necessary that the Trustees should enter into the question of Salt's contract with Belzoni. At the same time, if it is not inconvenient to them to state what proportion of the whole sum they conceive may be paid for the sarcophagus, it would certainly set the matter between Salt and Belzoni at rest. They may not, however, wish to become arbitrators in the case, and it is quite immaterial, for if Belzoni can prove that the sarcophagus would have sold for more than two thousand pounds, he may claim half the excess of Mr. Salt. I hope therefore that the Trustees may be disposed to recommend it to Parliament to grant the sum of five thousand pounds for the purchase of all Mr. Salt's Collection, not merely on the score of the separate value of each item amounting to that sum collectively; but also as a repayment of money actually advanced with the best intentions and judgment, and as a testimonial of the desire of the Trustees that the British nation should possess the best Egyptian Collection extant. I am very truly, dear Sir,

"Your's, &c. BINGHAM RICHARDS."

On the 3rd of February 1823, Mr. Richards attended the meeting of the sub-committee at the Museum, and received its proposals for the purchase of the Collection. What took place on the occasion will be best narrated in the words of Mr. Richards's rough memorandum, written *immediately* on his return from the meeting.

MEMORANDUM.—13*th Feb.* 1823.

"I attended at the British Museum at three o'clock, to confer with the sub-committee respecting Mr. Salt's Collec-

tion. There were five Trustees, among whom were Lord Aberdeen (in the chair), Mr. Bankes, and Sir John Copley, Solicitor-General. On entering the room, I was asked to sit at the table next to the President, who addressed me, stating that the Committee wished to make arrangements for the purchase of Mr. Salt's Collection, leaving out the sarcophagus, which appeared, by an offer in the room, to be valued at 3000*l.* and they wished to know whether I would consent to take 2000*l.* for the remaining part of the Collection, according to the catalogue. Before I replied, I inquired respecting the offer for the sarcophagus, and found that one of the gentlemen had *a letter from Mr. Belzoni* to a Mr. Brown, of Trinity College, Cambridge, *containing the offer* and an assurance that *the money should be paid* (deducting 500*l.*) to the bankers the moment the sarcophagus was delivered up by the Trustees. Belzoni's power of attorney was also on the table. Considering that Mr. Salt, by his letter to the Trustees of the 10th of May 1822, had already left it to them to act as they might think right—that there had been many doubts as to the ultimate purchase of the Collection—that it was necessary Mr. Salt should have his funds —that the separate valuation of the different articles might be precarious—that if the Trustees did pay 2000*l.* for the bulk of the Collection, and if 2000*l.* more could be got for the sarcophagus, the sum mentioned by Mr. Salt would be obtained—that to demur, or bargain, under all the circumstances, would not have been correct in me, as Mr. Salt's agent, where there was no positive obligation nor unanimous intention to purchase: I was induced to say that such offer of 2000*l.* would be accepted. Whereupon Mr. Bankes assured me, that that sum would be procured and paid during the present session of Parliament, &c. I withdrew. Now I hereby declare, that I went prepared to accept any offer made by the sub-committee, in the full confidence that if it

should not be thought adequate to Mr. Salt's deserts, it would be increased by the assistance and recommendation of his friends at a *General* Meeting. By assenting to the proposal, a specific sum is named, and an agreement to purchase is thus manifested. I farther felt convinced, that if the sarcophagus is ultimately to remain in the British Museum, the sum of 3000*l.* must be paid for it, inasmuch as the sub-committee have deducted so much from the sum of 5000*l.* named by me, contemplating that it would sell for that amount.

(Signed) BINGHAM RICHARDS."

All the steps which had been taken with respect to the sale of the Collection, were regularly communicated to Mr. Salt by Mr. Richards; but the length of time that elapsed before any reply could be obtained from Egypt, rendered it necessary for the latter to rely chiefly on his own judgment, throughout the whole of this intricate business, which, to do him justice, he pursued with a zeal, ability, and friendship very rarely to be paralleled. On the present occasion he addressed a letter to Mr. Salt, and after giving him the substance of what had occurred at the meeting, he adds, " Having thus conformed to your letter of offer, and shown every possible disposition to meet the views of the Trustees, I consider them as pledged to purchase to the extent named, and to deliver up the sarcophagus to my order. These two points I lay claim to, and if the General Meeting, or the Parliament, should not approve of the sarcophagus being sold, it is thus valued at three thousand pounds, which must be paid for it if it remains in the British Museum.

" I have written to Mr. C. Yorke, Mr. William J. Bankes, and Lord Mountnorris, to urge them to take all possible steps to assist in obtaining all you go for; secure, on the one hand, of the two thousand pounds and the sarcophagus, more may

be tried for by your friends without fear of marring the bargain. *Better* may be done for you, worse cannot. So much has been said of *economy*, and so little in *approbation* of Egyptian antiquities, that I was almost afraid you would be left in *the lurch* entirely. If Belzoni's offer be realized, he will have to pay two thousand five hundred pounds to you, retaining his five hundred pounds out of the three thousand pounds; and even if the Trustees should take the sarcophagus at three thousand pounds, Belzoni will be alike entitled to his five hundred pounds. There was no question, nor even a hint, as to a separate valuation of your Collection. It could not have been satisfactory to either party: there is no standard rule to form it upon, and had the amount been made large, the whole, or part, of the Collection would have been rejected; had it proved a smaller amount than that named, you must have accepted it, besides paying the per centage to the appraisers. I do not think that, considering all things, the Trustees have evinced any disposition to be liberal towards you, and I do not expect that either yourself, or your friends, will be satisfied; but there is time for the latter to bestir themselves in your behalf, while you, through my representation, remain inactive, certain of having acted in a most honourable and disinterested manner throughout the business.

"I am ever yours truly, B. RICHARDS.

"To Henry Salt, Esq." Feb. 22nd, 1823."

In addition to the reasons above-enumerated, which induced Mr. Richards to close with the *miserable* offer made on this occasion by the sub-committee of Trustees, I find others of a still more cogent nature, stated in another of his memorandums, bearing date the 18th of February 1823, in which he says, "I was led to believe that the leading and principal Trustee was averse to any purchase on the

general grounds of economy and the *want* of interest in Egyptian antiquities; when, therefore, I found a disposition to treat for the purchase, I was determined to make a sale under the old mercantile adage of 'Better to make a sale and repent, than to make no sale and repent.' I should, however, have been puzzled to know what amount would have met the ideas of the Trustees, or rather of this particular Trustee to whom I allude. The business was settled for me by the circumstance of Belzoni's offer for the sarcophagus. I had tried to obtain five thousand pounds for the whole. Three thousand pounds were offered for the sarcophagus, and this left two thousand pounds for the rest. There was no escape; I agreed to take it. I could not have done otherwise whatever sum had been named, for Salt had offered the Collection unconditionally. I believe the Trustee in question was taken by surprise and could not retreat, for I do not think his ideas, at that time, exceeded *one thousand pounds*. Again, it appeared essential that Salt should act liberally, that no one should have it in his power to say otherwise; and to me, as a man of business, it was desirable to secure any sum, *i. e.* to take money, after the long state of doubt I had been in. Some may say I ought to have bargained, and at least to have tried for one thousand, or five hundred pounds more. I cannot conscientiously assent to this; I had no right to bargain where my principal had left me no option, no power. It was for the Trustees to act as they liked. Besides, suppose that by an attempt to obtain more, a door had been left open for them, or rather for the acting Trustee, to have rejected the whole, what would have been my situation then? Mr. Salt might have justly condemned me for not making sure of the two thousand pounds. * * * * It may be observed that it was a fortunate circumstance that I named five thousand pounds in my letter to Mr. Planta, which was read to the

Committee. Had I named four thousand pounds, three thousand would have been also deducted, and one thousand pounds only have remained for Salt.

(Signed,) "BINGHAM RICHARDS."

The smallness of the sum which had been offered and accepted for a Collection so admirable in its kind, and which had been assembled with so much risk and expense, certainly excited no small degree of surprise and dissatisfaction in the personal friends of Mr. Salt, and in all those who felt anxious for the credit of our great national Institution; though I am not aware that any one thought of censuring Mr. Richards for his acceptance of the offer. Mr. Salt had thrown himself on the *liberality* of the Trustees, and it was not for his agent to raise objections that might have interfered with the directions of his employer. He, however, did all he could on the occasion, by writing an account of the proceedings to several influential persons, and succeeded in warmly interesting them in Mr. Salt's behalf, should Belzoni's purchaser, as there was but too much reason to suspect, turn out an "airy nothing." In the mean while, Mr. Richards received the following note from Mr. Ellis, enclosing a resolution of the Trustees, by which the sarcophagus was placed at his (Mr. Richards's) disposal.

"MY DEAR SIR, "British Museum, March 17th, 1823.

"I have the pleasure to send you a copy of a Minute made at an extraordinary General Meeting of our Trustees, on Saturday, which will enable you to remove the alabaster sarcophagus whenever you wish. At the same time, I am instructed to inform you, that it may remain as a deposit quite as long as you choose. Believe me, in great haste,

Your obliged and sincere friend,

"To B. Richards, Esq." HENRY ELLIS."

ENCLOSED IN THE PRECEDING.

"British Museum, March 15th, 1823.

"At an extraordinary General Meeting —

"Resolved,

"That Mr. Richards be informed that he is at liberty, whenever he pleases, to remove the alabaster sarcophagus.

"The above is a true copy from the proceedings of the Trustees. HENRY ELLIS, Secretary."

In consequence of the above permission, the sarcophagus remained in deposit at the Museum, and Mr. Richards having ascertained that Belzoni's power of attorney to a Mr. Brown, was in the possession of Sir J. S. Copley, he lost no time in writing to that gentleman on the subject.

"SIR, "4, Lamb's Conduit Place, March 24th, 1823.

"Mr. Ellis, of the British Museum, informs me that you are in possession of Mr. Belzoni's power of attorney to Mr. Brown, of Trinity College, Cambridge, relative to his contingent interest in the alabaster sarcophagus deposited by me in the British Museum by order of Mr. Salt. I shall therefore be much obliged to you if you will communicate to Mr. Brown the circumstance of the said sarcophagus having been placed entirely at my disposal by a minute made at an extraordinary General Meeting of the Trustees on the 15th instant, and of my readiness to treat with Mr. Belzoni's purchaser for the sale and delivery of it, in order to proceed without delay in the realization of the amount mentioned by Mr. Belzoni. I have the honour to be, &c.

B. RICHARDS."

"To Sir J. S. Copley."

It was not before the lapse of several months that the purport of this letter was communicated to Mr. Brown, and not till Belzoni had again set out for Africa, so that the ap-

plication, as will be shown hereafter, proved of no avail. In the interim Mr. Richards received the following letter from Mr. Salt, written in consequence of the intelligence he had received from Mr. William Bankes.

"Dear Richards, "Dec. 12th, 1822, Cairo.

"I sent you, by my letter of May the 20th, full powers to act for me in the affair of my antiquities deposited in the British Museum: the present is to confirm that letter, and to acquaint you with a communication subsequently made me by Mr. William Bankes. He has enclosed me the resolution of a General Meeting held on the 11th of May 1822, declining the alabaster sarcophagus, on account of 'the very high value put upon it by Mr. Belzoni.' I should hope this resolution may have come to your knowledge, and that you may have acted upon it in giving notice to Mr. Belzoni, and offering it to him at his own price; if not, I should wish that you would immediately apply to him, communicating to him the resolution of the Committee, and at the same time making him the offer of the sarcophagus, on his paying to me the sum of *two* thousand pounds on my account, *as I do not wish to intrench upon any profit* he may be able to make above that sum. You will give him a reasonable time, if necessary, to find a buyer for this sum; and should he not be able, you will then have the goodness to write to General Baron de Minutoli, offering it to him; and, in case of his declining it, to the French Government through the Conte de Forbin, who has seen it, and is a director of the French Museum—that is, if you do not find a buyer at two thousand pounds in England. At all events, sell it soon if possible, at the same time taking care that you do not get me into any scrape with Belzoni. Even should you not be able to get more than *one thousand five hundred pounds*, it

will be better to sell it than to remain longer without the money.

"I cannot help feeling that the Trustees of the Museum have much compromised my interests by not coming immediately, on Belzoni's making the proposition to them, to a determination, as in that case he would have been obliged to abide by his offer, which he will now, I doubt not, find means to evade. Look at his letter of the 24th of January, of which I sent you a copy, and you will see how much I have been sacrificed. I wish you, if the valuation of the rest of the Collection has not yet been made, to be guided in your proceedings by the advice of Mr. William Bankes, who is kind enough to take a strong interest in my favour. Whatever you may do, I shall be satisfied with it; only pray hasten the termination of the affair as much as you can. * * * Believe me

"Yours most truly, H. S.

"P.S. Mr. Bankes thinks that it would be best to name Mr. Payne Knight, Dr. Young, Thomas Hope, and himself, as my assessors. I should be much flattered if they would take that trouble upon themselves, as I am persuaded there are no better judges in England.—H. S."

"To B. Richards, Esq.

[Received 22nd of April 1823.]

A few months afterwards Mr. Salt again wrote as follows, in reply to a letter, &c. addressed to him by Mr. Richards on the 4th of the preceding February.

FROM HENRY SALT TO B. RICHARDS, ESQ.

"My dear Richards, "Cairo, April 4th, 1823.

"I have just received yours of the 4th of February, with its accompaniments. You will before this have got mine

of December 12th, enclosing a copy of the note of May the 11th from Mr. Ellis, which will show what a strange part the Museum is acting. They there, in May 1822, in *direct* terms refuse the sarcophagus, and on the 8th of January (as by your memorandum) they refuse to give it up to Mr. Belzoni!—What can be the meaning of such a proceeding?* I am greatly obliged by the manner in which you have stated my claims in your note of January 8th; but there are a few observations to be made for the sake of not getting into any difficulty or lawsuit. You say that the contract stipulates that 'any sum *it might produce* above two thousand pounds should be equally shared between them (Mr. Salt and Mr. Belzoni.) But this is not precisely the stipulation; it is, that he (Belzoni) shall be entitled to one-half of the *surplus* of whatever price *may be paid* for the same sarcophagus exceeding two thousand pounds; and it is moreover clearly stipulated 'that the British Museum is to have the offer of it at a *fair valuation*.' It is, therefore, rather imprudent of you to state, 'It is not at all necessary that the Trustees should enter into the question of Salt's contract with Belzoni;' on the contrary, my dear Richards, it is *absolutely necessary*. I have offered it to them *solely* on this condition and no other, 'that a fair valuation be made,' as

* The error committed by the Trustees on this occasion was of a two-fold nature; first, in not adding to their minute that "*the sarcophagus was at the disposal of Mr. Salt*," and, secondly, in not acquainting Mr. Richards with the resolution come to before they separated for the recess. It is true he had not at that time got a power of attorney from Mr. Salt to act for him in this *particular instance*, but they well knew that he was Mr. Salt's *general* agent, and therefore ought to have acquainted him with their determination, or at least have made arrangements for the sarcophagus to be delivered to him the instant his *authority* arrived: by doing neither, Mr. Salt's interests were completely compromised, as well as Belzoni's, if the latter had indeed received any specific offer of purchase, which, under *all* the circumstances of the case, does not appear very probable.—E.

you must see by my offer to the Museum to which you refer of May 10th, 1822; for it must be remembered this is due to Mr. Belzoni, whose interests I cannot wish to compromise.

"Your next paragraph also, may, I fear, if they act upon it, directly lead to a lawsuit; for certainly, as you say, if they pay me in the lump, and do not take a fair valuation of it, Belzoni may then pretend to come upon me 'for half the excess of what it would have sold for.' But I cannot consent to be placed in this situation. If they choose to take it at a fair valuation, well; if not, it must go to Belzoni's buyer. They may be assured it was not a trifling thing that induced me to make that contract with Belzoni—it was absolute necessity. He had estimated the sarcophagus in one of his letters to me at about *twenty thousand pounds*, and the only means I had of coming to an accommodation was, by consenting to the stipulation in question: had I not given him that supposed advantage, which I considered as none, we should at this moment have been in cruel litigation. Above all things, my dear Richards, avoid getting me into a lawsuit. The affair, as I have left it, is clear enough. But probably, before this reaches you, all this may be finally settled, as my letters of December 12th have been sent in duplicate—I believe I may say in triplicate. It may be as well to state, *en passant*, that Monsieur Drovetti did not offer the ten thousand dollars at Thebes in behalf of the French Government, but for *himself;* nor do I know that the Baron Minutoli did for the Prussian Government: this by way of accuracy. The latter's offer too, not a very direct one, was made at Alexandria. You may be assured that I am very sensible of your kindness in acting for me in this affair, and shall be glad of an opportunity to return it.

"Yours very truly, H. S.

"P.S. I hope, at all events, you will get two thousand

pounds for the *sarcophagus*. Belzoni may at present begin to be convinced *I was right*, and that he has no great matters to complain of.—H. S."

"To Bingham Richards, Esq."

Month after month passed away without any notice being taken of the application made by Mr. Richards, through the Solicitor-General, to Mr. Brown of Cambridge. At length, however, he received the following letter from that gentleman, explaining the cause of the delay:—

"Sir, "Ibbotson's Hotel, June 3rd, 1823.

"I have only just received from the Solicitor-General the letter which you addressed to him in the note of the 24th of last March: I am much vexed at the delay, as I am anxious to acquaint Mr. Belzoni with the resolution of the Committee of the Trustees of the British Museum. From the delay that has taken place, I am sorry to say that there is now very little chance of Mr. Belzoni hearing from me for a considerable time. His last letter to me was dated Tangier, the 10th of April, and he was then preparing to go on to Fez, and thence farther south; I shall, however, write to him immediately, and direct my letter under cover to the British Consul at Tangier, Mr. Douglas.

"I cannot help expressing my hope that the sarcophagus will not be removed from the Museum, as it would be a national loss, but that the Trustees will do an act of justice and pay to Mr. Belzoni five hundred pounds, which sum he in truth and equity has every right to claim. I shall remain in town for a few days, and any letter will find me at Ibbotson's Hotel, Vere Street. I remain, Sir,

"Your very obedient servant, G. A. Brown."

"To Bingham Richards, Esq."

BINGHAM RICHARDS, ESQ. IN REPLY TO THE PRECEDING.

" SIR, " London, June 5th, 1823.

" I have received the favour of your letter dated the 3rd instant, and shall much regret the circumstance of the delay of my communication through the Solicitor-General, if it should prove injurious to Mr. Salt's or Mr. Belzoni's interest in the realization of the value of the sarcophagus. I am rather surprised to learn from you that farther communication with Mr. Belzoni upon this subject is necessary, as I understood that you were acquainted with the name of the purchaser, and would be able to transact the business, or put it in my power to do so, as soon as I could guarantee the delivery of the sarcophagus. Mr. Salt has expressed himself willing to take from any purchaser, British or foreign (giving the former the preference) the sum of two thousand pounds; but as Mr. Belzoni has a contingent interest, should it produce more than that amount, and as he assured me that he could readily dispose of it for three thousand pounds, I thought it just that every opportunity should be afforded him, and I have hitherto abstained from offering it for two thousand pounds. The circumstance of Mr. Belzoni not having made you acquainted with his purchaser gives rise to a fear on my part that he may not have any *real* purchaser, and that he has merely named the sum of three thousand pounds in the hope that the Trustees of the Museum would take it at that price, which would secure five hundred pounds to him (Belzoni). There cannot be a doubt that, the sarcophagus having been valued at Thebes at two thousand pounds, it ought to sell for one half as much more in this country, after the risk of losing the whole has been incurred; but, if this cannot be effected, it is incumbent upon me to obtain for Mr. Salt the best price I can for it,

without farther reference to Mr. Belzoni's contingent interest. I hope that you will consider the situation I am placed in, by my wish to meet Mr. Belzoni's views, as an apology for having thus candidly stated my ideas on this subject. I have the honour to be, Sir,

" Yours, &c. B. RICHARDS."

" To G. A. Brown, Esq."

FROM G. A. BROWN, ESQ. IN REPLY.

" SIR, " Ibbotson's Hotel, June 9th, 1823.

" I regret very much that so long an interval must elapse before I can procure an answer from Belzoni relative to the disposal of the sarcophagus. He did *not* communicate to me the *name* of the person; but, from what he said, I have no doubt he would readily offer two thousand pounds to you for the sarcophagus. I can only say I wish I had the money to spare, and I should instantly purchase and present that unrivalled remain of antient art to our University. I have been absent from town for these last three or four days, or I should have replied immediately to your letter. I am going to the Solicitor-General's on Wednesday evening, and shall then urge him to interest Parliament in behalf of Belzoni. I do hope that sufficient liberality may be found in that House to lead them to give two thousand pounds to Mr. Salt and five hundred pounds to Belzoni, and let the sarcophagus remain where it is, and, in fact, where so splendid a relic ought to be. I shall be most happy to communicate farther with you upon the subject, and remain, Sir,

" Yours most faithfully, G. A. BROWN."

" To B. Richards, Esq."

Nothing farther passed upon this subject during several months. The sarcophagus remained at the British Museum,

and Mr. Richards suspended proceedings respecting it till a sufficient time had elapsed for receiving an answer from Belzoni to Mr. Brown's communication. In the mean while he obtained the two thousand pounds, for Mr. Salt's Collection from the Museum, and about the same time got the annexed short letter from Mr. Salt.

"Cairo, June 1st, 1823.

"My dear Richards,

"I have received your letters, and have not, of course, much to say on the affair of the Museum. One thing surprises me, that you do not effect the sale with Belzoni, or his agent, and give a *regular order* on the Museum for the sarcophagus, which would bring that point to an issue; and I think such a step absolutely necessary, with a view to ulterior proceedings. I send you an extract from the account current of my father's executors, which will put you *au fait*, as to what have been my expenses, independent of my salary.

"I feel assured that Mr. Yorke will do all he can for me; and Mr. Bankes, Jun., who in one of his last letters says that 'the Collection is well worth *five* thousand pounds,' will, I trust, aid and assist. * * * Or if you could, at the Foreign Office, be able to lay the matter before Mr. Canning, I am confident he is too liberal to see me wronged. If I am to have less than four thousand for the *whole*, I shall think myself *very ill-used*, for it must be remembered that Sir Joseph Banks *pressed me into the service*. Believe me, my dear Richards,

"Yours very truly, H. S."

"B. Richards, Esq."

In the succeeding November, no letter having arrived from Mr. Brown, Mr. Richards commissioned Mr. Beechey,

who was going to Cambridge, to call upon that gentleman, and gave him the following introductory letter.

"SIR, "London, Nov. 8th, 1823.

"I have been hoping for some time to receive a communication from you upon the subject of the sarcophagus, trusting that you might have had an answer from Mr. Belzoni to your letter in June last, which would either enable me to deliver it to his purchaser, or to find another without reference to Mr. Belzoni's contingent interest. My friend, Mr. Beechey, is going to Cambridge, and will have the pleasure to confer with you on the subject, as he is acquainted with it.

"I am, &c. BINGHAM RICHARDS."

"To G. A. Brown, Esq."

FROM G. A. BROWN, ESQ. IN REPLY.

"SIR, "Trinity College, Cambridge, Nov. 20th, 1823.

"Upon my return to Cambridge I found the letter which you had entrusted to Mr. Beechey's care, and I have to regret that I lost the opportunity of seeing that gentleman. I am sorry to say that the letters which I sent to Mr. Belzoni, under cover to Mr. Douglas, the Consul at Tangier, were never delivered to him, but returned to Mrs. Belzoni since her arrival in England. In them I gave the substance of what had passed relative to the sarcophagus, and I enclosed also your letter to me upon the subject. The letters have again been sent out to Mr. Belzoni, but even if they should reach him, I see no chance of obtaining any answer from him; I can, therefore, say nothing farther in regard to the business. I only think it will be an act of the greatest injustice to the person who discovered the Tomb, and the

valuable sarcophagus it contained, if in the sale of the said sarcophagus he is to be entirely overlooked, as far as sharing the profits.* I have done what I could to impress the Trustees of the British Museum with a proper sense of what is due to Mr. Belzoni's merits; they have shown themselves not so sensible of those merits as I could have wished. I have endeavoured to interest different persons in Parliament upon the matter, and I fear as vainly. It must therefore take its course. I shall be in London this next week, and if you have anything to communicate, I shall be happy to receive it at Ibbotson's hotel. I remain, Sir,

" Your most obedient humble servant,

" G. A. Brown."

" Bingham Richards, Esq."

Here the communication between Messrs. Brown and Richards seems to have terminated. The strange and dubious conduct of Belzoni, in uniformly evading every application that had been made to him, to specify the name of the party from whom the offer of purchase had emanated, and his unaccountable neglect in not entrusting even his own agent with the secret before he quitted the country, almost justified the suspicion entertained by Mr. Richards, that, " Mr. Belzoni had never any *real* offer, and that he merely

* I confess I do not exactly see the force of this observation. Mr. Belzoni had been employed to search for antiquities, and, as has been already shown, was most *handsomely* remunerated for his services: he incurred no risk, that being exclusively Mr. Salt's, to whom whatever was discovered of right belonged, the out-lay having been drawn entirely from his own *private* resources. Mr. Belzoni had no claim upon the antiquities, except such as it was at Mr. Salt's pleasure to allow him; where then was the " *injustice* ?" If Mr. Brown, or any other gentleman, suspected that a rich vein of ore existed in some new-found country, and were to employ, at his *sole expense*, a skilful person to discover and work it—on whom ought the profits, or the loss, to devolve ? on the employer or on his agent ?—E.

attempted to establish a value, in order to secure to himself a sum of five hundred pounds for his contingent interest."

At the latter end of 1823, or in the beginning of 1824, in consequence of the strong feeling excited among several distinguished persons, by the insignificant sum awarded to Mr. Salt for his Collection, some disposition appears to have existed on the part of the Trustees of the British Museum, to enter into a fresh negotiation with respect to the sarcophagus, in order to afford Mr. Salt an equivalent for the principal and interest of the large sum he had expended in assembling his Collection. Some of the Trustees, as well as other individuals, deprecated the idea of the sarcophagus being purchased by a foreign power after it had been once in English possession, and lamented the undignified parsimony which, in matters of this nature, too frequently regulates the proceedings of our great National Institution: before any measures, however, were decidedly taken, Mr. Richards thought it right to address letters to several of Mr. Salt's friends in his behalf. The succeeding are among the answers received to his applications.

FROM THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES YORKE.

"Boningtons, January 30th, 1824.

"Mr. Yorke's compliments to Mr. B. Richards, had the honour of his letter of the 26th inst. Mr. Yorke is most happy to hear that the British Museum is likely to purchase the unique sarcophagus procured by Mr. Salt, and that this country will be spared the *shame* of having it sent to a foreign Collection after being in *English possession*. Mr. Yorke entertains no fear of any *opposition* among the *Trustees*, or in the House of Commons. Lord Hardwicke, if in town February 14th, will probably attend, and Mr. Yorke will write to him on the subject.

"To Bingham Richards, Esq."

FROM WILLIAM J. BANKES, ESQ.

" Old Palace Yard, February 10th, 1824.

" Sir,

" Domestic calamities and anxiety have prevented my sending an earlier acknowledgement of your letter. I do not observe, from any paragraph in your letter, that you seem to be aware that Mr. Salt may be reasonably expected in England (or in Europe at the least) in the course of the ensuing spring. I applied myself to Mr. Canning some months ago, to obtain a leave of absence for him, at his request, and Mr. C. Yorke did the same. It was conceded, and the leave sent out to him, to the best of my recollection, some time early in November last, so that it is probable (or at least possible) that he may have it in his possession at this very time: and, as he is anxious to come, it may naturally be supposed that he will not delay his departure very long. Now, it may be worth considering whether in this case (the delays having already gone so far), it may not be better to leave the matter pending, so far as respects the sarcophagus, until Mr. Salt shall be here to take part and judge for himself upon the spot. Such at least, I confess, is a little my own impression, and I have suggested to my father (the only *acting* Trustee with whom I am very closely connected) that it would, perhaps, be best to consider the whole bargain for the Collection suspended until that time, when something might be arranged (for the whole perhaps) more satisfactory to all parties than what has been yet done. For I confess that, for my own part, I have never been at all satisfied with what was resolved on the last year, nor could ever have given my consent to it, on Mr. Salt's part, had he in any way authorised me to speak, act, or value in his name. At the same time, if your offers from abroad are *very liberal*, and in any way restricted as to time,

it should be well looked to, on the other hand (in taking care of Mr. Salt's interests), that such opportunity be not *absolutely lost* before we are sure of a good market for him at home; for I must not disguise from you that, though there may be those among the Trustees who have a strong wish that the sarcophagus should be retained, there are others in the number who conceive, that much too high a value is set upon it, and that articles of greater curiosity and merit could be procured for that sum. I am stating to you the opinion of others, and not my own; for although, possibly, I may conceive that the sarcophagus, taken separately, may not justify so great a price, yet I am persuaded that, if brought upon sale, the produce of the whole Collection which Mr. Salt sent over, would rather exceed than fall short what it was calculated that he was to receive for the total; selling the sarcophagus at two thousand five hundred pounds. I am, Sir, in haste, your very obedient servant,

WILLIAM J. BANKES."

Perhaps you will favour me with two lines in answer previous to the 14th, and I should be glad to know what are your last accounts of Mr. Salt."

"B. Richards, Esq."

To the last letter Mr. Richards sent an immediate reply, in which he states at large his reasons for wishing to bring the affair with the Trustees to a direct issue. They have considerable weight, and, taking all the circumstances of the case into consideration, he could not probably have done better for Mr. Salt's interests than by pressing the matter to a speedy determination.

A few days subsequently he was summoned to attend a general meeting of the Trustees, and it is from his own memorandum, made on his return home, that I take the following account of what passed on the occasion.

"I was called," he says, "before the general meeting of Trustees, February 14th, 1824, The Archbishop of Canterbury in the chair, who, addressing himself to me, asked whether I had any fresh proposition to make respecting the sarcophagus? I replied, Not any; your Lordship must be aware of all that passed on the 13th of February last year respecting it. I was requested to state the sum which would satisfy Mr. Salt as a reimbursement for his expenses, and which I named to be five thousand pounds. Two thousand pounds had been awarded to me for the rest of the Collection, in consequence of an offer, at that time on the table, of three thousand pounds for the sarcophagus, and I could now only refer to the former meeting as the basis of any present transaction. A gentleman then said, he understood that two thousand pounds might be *now* named for the sarcophagus. I replied that, under all the circumstances, I could not treat for a less sum than three thousand pounds, without reference to Mr. Salt, who might be on his way to England, but of this I had no advice. I then inquired whether I might acquaint Mr. Salt that there was a desire to purchase. The chairman did not very well see how I could do that. No proposal being farther made to me, I retired. On my return into the ante-room I found Mr. William J. Bankes, who felt disappointed at the issue of my interview, and advised me to take immediate steps to negotiate with the Bavarian Government for the sale of the sarcophagus at four thousand pounds, or any other Government, according to my orders from Salt.

"B. RICHARDS."

After this meeting, no farther steps were taken with respect to the Museum for some weeks. Mr. William J. Bankes strongly advised Mr. Richards to prepare and present a memorial to the body of the Trustees in Mr. Salt's

favour. This was accordingly drawn up and forwarded to Mr. William Bankes, who, with another influential individual, highly approved of it, though it appears that the document was never returned to Mr. Richards, nor of course presented. It is probable, however, from what subsequently took place, that these gentlemen had discovered that no representation of the kind would have produced any change in the determination of the Trustees. Without attempting in any respect to investigate the motives which influenced the latter throughout the whole of this transaction, it appears certain that they at no time evinced any great desire to possess the Collection, nor to act with the slightest degree of liberality; their proceedings uniformly bearing a much stronger affinity to the trading spirit of a retail dealer than to the broad and enlightened views that ought to influence the managers of a splendid national institution. It may indeed be somewhat doubtful whether Mr. Richards, after he had had such full experience of their mode of conducting affairs, would not have acted more judiciously, and possibly more for the interests of Mr. Salt, had he without farther delay offered the sarcophagus to some foreign Government, as soon as he found that the Trustees had rejected it, and that no purchaser really existed on the part of Belzoni; or, at least, that when he attended the last meeting of the Trustees he should have offered it for two thousand pounds, which there then seemed *some disposition* on their part to have offered, instead of standing out for three thousand, as the only basis on which he could treat. But it must be remembered that he was, in every respect, placed in a most delicate situation, and was generally forced to decide on the urgency of the occasion.

Mr. Richards, as usual, communicated his proceedings to Mr. Salt at Alexandria, acquainting him with the reopening of the negotiation with the Trustees of the Museum, and with

the result. The intelligence reached Mr. Salt when he was suffering from severe bodily infirmity and from the double affliction of the recent death of his wife and child. It was then six years since he had first made the offer of his Collection, in the course of which he had sustained much pecuniary loss, and had been subjected to no inconsiderable share of obliquy for his well-intended exertions. Wearied out with the vexatious circumstances which uniformly attended the whole transaction, and tired with the endless obstacles thrown in the way of bringing matters to a conclusion, he seems in his reply to have expressed himself with a degree of impatience very foreign to his natural character. As his letter, however, places his ideas on the subject in a very clear point of view, I should not feel justified in withholding it. It is as follows:

FROM HENRY SALT, ESQ. TO BINGHAM RICHARDS, ESQ.

"Alexandria, May 2nd, 1824.

"My dear Richards,

"I cannot understand upon what grounds you are acting. When there was a moment for taking a high tone, when the Trustees offered the miserable sum of two thousand pounds for the *whole* of my Collection, excepting the sarcophagus, * * * * you made no opposition; accepted the money, and compromised me completely on that head: and now, that you have nothing in hand but the sarcophagus, the sale of which you will find more difficult than you suspect, and on which *I* never laid any *extravagant* value,—now, that conciliation was so necessary for my interests, you take up a high tone and demand for the sarcophagus three thousand pounds, adopting as your basis, not my instructions, but the offer of Belzoni.* Look back to my

* "Nothing vexes me so much as the circumstance that you should have, by this line of acting, given the Trustees reason to suppose that I

letter; is there any thing of this kind in my instructions? On the contrary, have I not written to you that with two thousand I should be content, even should I have to pay five hundred out of this to Belzoni? But as to his claim, nothing could, I think, have been more easy than to have disposed of it, had you consulted, as I requested, my friend Mr. Broughton. A lawyer's letter to Belzoni's agent, demanding the three thousand pounds to be paid down, or that you should consider the offer as null altogether and as unworthy your farther notice, and that consequently you should dispose of it otherwise to my best advantage, would, I should think, have sufficed, and it is my wish that this measure may at all events be immediately put in execution. I could almost fancy you had been bitten by Belzoni or his agent! Offer it for four thousand pounds! where will you get half the sum?

"The mode in which the Museum seemed inclined to settle the matter would have been perfectly satisfactory; for you know I had made up my mind to make *great* sacrifices: —the object having been attained in having enriched the Museum with a Collection which must be estimated hereafter as the finest Egyptian one in Europe, as far as regards statuary. The Trustees cannot, at least, deprive me of this honour.

"Pray, my dear Richards, take some means, if possible, through my friends Mr. Yorke and Mr. Bankes, to correct the error you have fallen into, and conclude, if you can, with the Museum for two thousand pounds more, on the ground of its being in full for the whole of my Collection, *including* the sarcophagus. * * * H. S."

have been in collusion all the time with that prince of ungrateful adventurers—God knows, on the contrary, that I always believed his offer to be a fictitious one, and that I have but one wish, never to have my name coupled with his. Why then ground your demands on his offer? "H. SALT."

As matters turned out, however, Mr. Salt was ultimately no loser by the course that had been pursued by the Trustees. The sum which that body had found it inconvenient to vote, for the bare reimbursement of Mr. Salt's expenses in forming the Collection, one spirited individual and liberal encourager of art declared himself willing to advance, on condition of the sarcophagus being placed at his immediate disposal. This individual was Mr. now Sir John Soane, Bart. who, about the period of the last meeting of the Trustees, had communicated to Mr. Richards, I believe through Mr. Tyndale of Lincoln's-inn-fields, his wish to purchase the sarcophagus could it be obtained for two thousand pounds. On receiving this intimation, Mr. Richards immediately informed Mr. William J. Bankes of the offer, and requested his advice on the occasion; when he received the following reply, sanctioning the proposal, but under certain restrictions.

"Soughton Hall, Feb. 15th, 1824.

"DEAR SIR,

"As a friend of Mr. Salt (from whom I have a letter dated in January last, in which he expresses his eagerness to have all the matters respecting his Collection terminated) I have no hesitation in recommending that Mr. Soane's offer should be acceded to, but hope that the reserve in Belzoni's favour has been stipulated for (as first intended) during twelve months at least; Mr. Soane's money and interest upon it to be returned in the case of Belzoni coming with a larger offer within the time specified. Believe me, dear sir, in great haste, your very obedient servant,

"WILLIAM J. BANKES."

"To Bingham Richards, Esq."

The stipulation in favour of Mr. Belzoni, contained in the above letter, occasioned some delay, Mr. Soane having unequivocally stated in his offer that the sarcophagus should

be unconditionally placed in his hands, on payment of the proposed sum. It was also the wish of Mr. William Bankes, before matters came to a final settlement with Mr. Soane, that an appeal should be again made to the Trustees; and accordingly, on the 2nd of April 1824, Mr. Richards addressed the following note to them.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"Having received an offer of two thousand pounds for Mr. Salt's sarcophagus, the purchaser* agreeing to allow a sufficient term for Mr. Belzoni or his agents to produce any larger sum, so as to secure to him such benefit as he may have it in his power to obtain for his contingent interest, I cannot conclude the sale without previously making the offer of it to your honourable Board, for the above-named sum of two thousand pounds, and subject to the same allowance of time for the object stated. Requesting the favour of an early reply, I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "Bingham Richards."

This note was taken into consideration on the 10th of April, when the Committee came to the following resolution on the subject of its contents.

"*Resolved.*—That the Board decline the offer made in Mr. Richards's letter, and refer him to the former decision of the Trustees at their general meeting of March 15th, 1823.

(True copy) "Henry Ellis, Sec."

This definitive refusal on the part of the Trustees, and the account of Belzoni's death, which reached England soon after, appear to have removed the obstacles which had

* Mr. Soane, it seems, from the rough draft of the agreement between him and Mr. Richards, had been induced, with his accustomed good feeling and disinterestedness, to concede *two years* for this purpose.—E.

hitherto stood in the way of a final arrangement with Mr. Soane. In the middle of April Mr. Richards wrote to Mr. Planta of the Museum, requesting the delivery of the sarcophagus after the recess, and sent a copy of his letter to Mr. Soane, who without loss of time returned the annexed reply.

"Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, April 17th, 1824.

"SIR,

"In answer to your letter of the 13th instant, enclosing an order to the Trustees of the British Museum for the delivery of the alabaster sarcophagus to me, upon the payment of two thousand pounds, I beg to inform you that a draft for that sum is at your disposal, whenever the property is legally delivered at my house. I am Sir,

"Your obedient humble servant, JOHN SOANE."

"To Bingham Richards, Esq."

In consequence of Mr. Richards's application to Mr. Planta, the sarcophagus was removed from the Museum, and finally placed in Mr. Soane's house on the 12th of May 1824.

It had been the laudable wish and hope of many individuals, anxious for the credit of the nation, that the entire Collection should have been purchased by the Museum, and to the last Mr. William Bankes, in particular, entertained sanguine expectations of that object being accomplished; finding, however, that all his efforts had failed in awakening the Trustees to a sense of Mr. Salt's merits, and of what was due to their own reputation, it was his declared intention to move, the first opportunity which occurred in Parliament, that the sum of one thousand pounds should be voted to Mr. Salt as an additional remuneration for his exertions. This design however, probably from his having ascertained its small chance of success, he never appears to have put in execution. Perhaps too he felt, in the event of Mr. Salt's

inability, from ill health, to continue in the Consulate, that the mortifying treatment experienced by the latter on the recent occasion, might form a strong ground for his being permitted to resign his office upon some small retiring pension. That this was Mr. Salt's own view of the matter appears from the annexed letter to Mr. Richards, and indeed, had he been able to have returned upon the leave of absence granted him by Mr. Canning, it seems likely that something of the kind would have been effected, through the interposition of that accomplished scholar and lamented statesman.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM HENRY SALT, ESQ. TO BINGHAM RICHARDS, ESQ.

"Alexandria, July 3rd 1824.

"DEAR RICHARDS,

"I have had great pleasure in receiving yours of the 3rd of March, and have no doubt you will have had before this my letter of May the 2nd, so that I have to hope you will by this time have terminated all matters relative to the sarcophagus. If the Museum should have refused my offer at two thousand pounds, to complete the price of my Collection, I wish you immediately to accept that of Mr. Soane. Should you have succeeded in getting two thousand five hundred pounds, I should be of course better pleased, but even with the two thousand, I shall be better *satisfied* than to have the matter left in a state of uncertainty, especially as it gives me a greater claim, together with what I have suffered here, upon the Government in case I should become incapable of pursuing my public duties. * * *

"Yours, &c. H. SALT."

"P.S. 7th of July.—I have received yours of the 31st of May—approve most fully of the sale—have opened this letter to tell you so. The ship is on departure. H. S."

"To Bingham Richards, Esq."

When the purchase of the sarcophagus was completed by Mr. Soane, Mr. Richards acquainted some of Mr. Salt's friends with the circumstance, and the intelligence seems to have afforded them satisfaction, however they might lament the inadequacy of the total amount obtained as the price of the *whole* of the Collection. Among others he addressed a letter to Mr. Hamilton, then at Naples, and as the reply is written with great good-feeling, and appears to embody what was generally felt on the occasion, I give it insertion.

TO BINGHAM RICHARDS, ESQ.

"Naples, May 8th, 1824.

"DEAR SIR,

"Your brother was so good as to bring me your kind letter of the 15th of April, in which you do me the honour to mention your reasons for disposing of Mr. Salt's sarcophagus to Mr. Soane. I think you have judged rightly, though I cannot but regret that it is not in the Museum: I always thought that the Trustees had made an offer of two thousand pounds, and that the hitch lay between that sum and two thousand five hundred pounds, always for the Museum. However it is satisfactory that it does not go out of England. Much is certainly due to Mr. Salt for the intelligence and industry with which he has pursued his search of the Egyptian antiquities, and applied himself at the same time to the study of their sacred language, and I hope ere long his friends in Parliament will get something done for him, which shall do more than merely reimburse his expenses. * * *

"Yours, &c. WILLIAM HAMILTON."

Thus terminated this discreditable transaction. After a lapse of six years, from the period of Mr. Salt's first offer of his antiquities, he received finally through the Museum,

exactly one half of the sum which he had expended in forming the Collection. His risk, his activity, perseverance, and judgment in assembling it, all passed wholly unrewarded, and had it not been for the liberality of one splendid-minded individual, he would actually have been a loser of two thousand pounds by his disinterested exertions in the service of his country. Nor must it be forgotten that, in the course of the above period, he had presented the Museum with several valuable antiquities, besides the Memnon's Head, which, in conjunction with Burkhardt, he had gratuitously placed within its walls.

On a review of the documents, now for the first time submitted to the public, the whole of this transaction may be shortly summed up as follows. At the time of Mr. Salt's being appointed to the Consulate of Egypt, his friend, the late Sir Joseph Banks, then a very influential member among the Trustees, pressed him to avail himself of the opportunities his situation seemed likely to afford, to collect antiquities for the British Museum. With this request Mr. Salt readily complied, and had no sooner reached the country than he warmly entered upon the speculation. He was fond of pursuits of this nature, and finding his own wishes sanctioned by such an authority as Sir Joseph's, he engaged in the undertaking with a greater degree of zeal than possibly the dictates of selfish prudence might justify. In the first instance, his efforts were necessarily circumscribed by the confined nature of his resources, but not long after his arrival in Egypt, he came into possession, by his father's death, of about five thousand pounds, and from that moment he appears to have launched into the wide sea of speculative discovery.

His endeavours were crowned with success beyond his most sanguine hope, as, in a comparatively short time, his activity and liberality had secured to him a Collection

which excited the admiration and the envy of his numerous competitors. No sooner was it assembled in 1818, than he wrote a private letter to his friend Mr. Hamilton, offering his Collection, at a fair valuation, to Government, for the British Museum and the Royal Academy, and requesting the advice of that able and experienced individual as to the best mode of accomplishing his purpose: with this letter he also sent, privately, a list of prices, at which the several articles appear to have been valued by the numerous foreign "Savans" then assembled in Egypt, some of whom had actually made him splendid offers for more than one of the antiquities in his possession, all of which he refused from his desire to send the entire Collection to England, and his wish to avoid the imputation of being considered a dealer. The letter and the priced list were, in an incautious moment, submitted by Mr. Hamilton to Sir Joseph Banks, and the publicity thus given to these documents produced, as has been before stated, an outcry against Mr. Salt as unreasonable as it seems to have been groundless.

For his well-intended proposal he received nothing but censures and upbraidings, and even these notices of his offer were delayed till the February of the following year. In the mean while Mr. Salt had been induced to give Mr. Belzoni a lien on the sarcophagus, which subsequently proved very detrimental to his interests, and seems to have been employed by others as a subterfuge for awarding him the trifling amount which he finally obtained for the rest of his Collection. No sooner, however, had he gained intelligence of the mode in which his proposition had been received in England, than he hastened to offer the whole of his Collection to the Museum, without any stipulations as to price, and at the same time stated the contingent claim he had given Belzoni on the sarcophagus, in consequence of the extravagant sum that had been set upon it by that indi-

vidual. This unconditional surrender of his property, which was made by Mr. Salt in his letter to Sir Joseph Banks in the early part of 1819, appears to have afforded pretty general satisfaction; though, in fact, it did not greatly differ from the one he had previously proposed, viz. "that the Collection should be taken by Government at a fair valuation estimated by such persons *as it might think proper to appoint.*"

Although the offer now made was received with approbation, yet no steps seem to have been taken in the business for a considerable time, probably in consequence of the death of Sir Joseph Banks, and it was not till after a letter had been received from Salt, by Mr. William J. Bankes in January 1822, noticing his former offer of the Collection, that the matter was taken into consideration on the 11th of May of the same year, when a Committee of the Trustees came to the resolution of wholly *rejecting* the sarcophagus, in consequence "of the high price placed *upon it by Mr. Belzoni.*"

No farther progress appears to have been made in the affair during this year, and the Trustees separated for the recess, without even giving their officers instructions to deliver the article to Mr. Belzoni's purchaser, if such a person were really in existence. Thus, and without having the sarcophagus valued, completely compromising the interests of Mr. Salt, and those of Mr. Belzoni; the latter of whom had all along persisted in declaring that he had a buyer ready at three thousand pounds, and would deposit two thousand five hundred pounds in the hands of Mr. Salt's banker, the moment he could obtain possession of the article. In this manner was the opportunity lost of ascertaining the accuracy of Mr. Belzoni's statements, and, at the next meeting of the Trustees, it appears he had already departed to a far distant land, without even leaving the

name of his purchaser with *his own confidential agent and attorney.*

With these proceedings Mr. Salt remained for some time unacquainted, but, having learned in the interim that his Collection had for the most part reached England, he deemed it expedient, in order to put an end to the suspense in which he had so long been kept, to renew the offer he had made to the Trustees in 1819, through Sir Joseph Banks; and accordingly, on the 10th of May 1822, he addressed the letter to that body, which has been already given, and sent *full* powers to Mr. Richards to act as his agent in the affair.

The Trustees, in consequence, once more met, in the early part of 1823, when they again rejected the sarcophagus, and offered two thousand pounds for the rest of the antiquities; exactly half the amount which, they then knew, the Collection had cost Mr. Salt, and throwing on his hands, without even having it properly valued, the most unsaleable article of the whole, taking for their guide, not the fair estimate of competent judges, but the extravagant price put upon it by Mr. Belzoni. In this way was the Collection split, and Mr. Richards, in a manner, compelled to accept of the insignificant sum that had been proposed. The matter being thus disposed of, Mr. Richards lost no time in endeavouring to discover Mr. Belzoni's purchaser; but no such personage was forthcoming.

In the mean while some individuals, and a portion of the Trustees themselves, became interested in Mr. Salt's behalf, and felt anxious for the credit of the nation, that the Collection should not be divided, but that the whole should remain in the British Museum. Through their representations a disposition was manifested by the Trustees to reconsider their decision, and Mr. Richards was again summoned, early in 1824, to attend a General Meeting.

This meeting, however, ended like the foregoing ones, though some inclination was evinced, on the part of several of the members, to give two thousand pounds for the sarcophagus, and thus make up the amount to Mr. Salt of the money he had *actually* expended. But to this proposition Mr. Richards did not feel himself authorised to assent, and the affair passed over withour anything specific being determined.

About this period Mr. Soane made his proposal of two thousand pounds for the article, which was conditionally accepted by Mr. Richards, but, before he concluded the treaty, it was thought right to again apply to the Trustees, and make them the offer of the sarcophagus at the above sum. This proposal, however, being also rejected, the article was delivered to Mr. Soane after a stipulated time had been allowed for any purchaser of Mr. Belzoni's to come forward with a more advantageous offer.

It has been too much the prevailing notion to consider Mr. Belzoni as the only party aggrieved in the course of these proceedings; but with how small a degree of justice will probably appear from the foregoing statement. Mr. Salt had been urged to form a collection for the British Museum—he had entered zealously into the undertaking, and, in carrying it into effect, had expended nearly the whole of his private property. Mr. Belonzi was justly recommended to his notice, as a person well qualified by his perseverance and abilities to aid him in the objects of his pursuit; and his services were accepted and amply repaid by Mr. Salt, years before the latter had himself realised a single penny of the large sum he had disbursed. The risk of every description was exclusively his own, yet he had the liberality to remunerate his agent, during the comparatively short time he was in his employ, to an amount which, in one way or another, was equivalent to a year's income of his Consular salary;

to say nothing of the contingent interest he had given him in the sarcophagus. Of what, then, had Mr. Belzoni to complain? He received what may be termed prompt and full payment for his services, at least so far as Mr. Salt was concerned; while his employer, after an interval of many years, by a mere accident, and with infinite risk, discomfort, and vexation, succeeded at length in recovering the *bare* amount of the money which he had so freely hazarded.

Before I conclude my account of this painful and, in a national sense, mortifying transaction, I must beg leave to observe, that if I have at any time expressed myself strongly in the course of the above narrative, I trust the circumstances of the case will be found sufficiently cogent to justify my animadversions. I have no motives which can induce me to pass a censure lightly on the Trustees of the British Museum; and I only regret, from the treatment my friend Mr. Salt experienced at their hands, that it appears difficult to extend to them, in their collective capacity, the degree of consideration to which they are in other respects unquestionably entitled.

EGYPT,

A DESCRIPTIVE POEM,

WITH NOTES.

BY A TRAVELLER.

If glorious structures and immortal deeds
Enlarge the thoughts and set our souls on fire,
My tongue has been too cold in Egypt's praise,—
The Queen of Nations and the boast of times —
Mother of science, and the house of gods.
YOUNG's *Busiris.*

DEDICATED BY THE AUTHOR

TO HIS FRIENDS.

ALEXANDRIA, JULY 10TH, 1824.

ALEXANDRIA:
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, BY ALEXANDER DRAGHI,
AT THE EUROPEAN PRESS.

MDCCCXXIV.

THIS Poem was printed with a view to divert the Author's attention whilst suffering under severe affliction, as well as to give encouragement to a very worthy man, the Printer. It is the first English work carried through the press in Alexandria; and, as the compositor was entirely ignorant of the language in which it is written, the difficulties that existed in correcting the proof-sheets may be easily imagined. This, it is hoped, may excuse many errors. The notes are unavoidably delayed.

Should the contents of this little work bring back any agreeable recollections to the minds of travellers, of the various scenes they have noticed in passing through Egypt, the object of its Author will be, in a great measure, attained; beyond this, the only satisfaction he can promise himself consists in the gratification of those friends to whom it is dedicated.

EGYPT.

CANTO I.

I.

EGYPT, renown'd of old, demands my song,
High favour'd land, where Nilus sweeps along
His course majestic with full flowing stream,
And back reflects to day the sun's bright beam.
Sweep on in triumph, noble river, sweep
Thy welcome waters to the thirsty deep,
While Tegla's distant mountains, cold and high,
From their vast fountains a fresh stream supply.
Oh! how I love along thy banks to stray,
And watch the fish that on thy bosom play;
Mark from thy bed the scaly crocodile
Steal his slow pace, and turn his head erewhile
In cautious fear; while screams the pelican,
With flapping wings that heavy seeks to rise;
Or in extended phalanx mounts the crane,
And dins the welkin with its shrill hoarse cries:

II.

Or, lazy resting 'neath some shady tree,
List to the rustling leaves above, and see
The turtle cooing to his gentle bride,
As fond she nestles happy by his side;
Or view the blue-wing'd pigeon's idle brood
Disport and wanton on thy summer flood;
Or trace the goose of Nile, with tender care
Her offspring teach t'avoid the sportsman's snare;
Now bid them on the surface shoot along,
Now dive beneath, now with the current glide,

And now protect them with her shelt'ring side,
Braving ev'n death to save them :—this among
His sacred characters wise Hermes drew,
Emblem of care maternal, emblem true
Of that affection fathomless which fills
A parent's breast, whose holy balm distills
Its essence from that fountain pure of Love,
Which blesses man below, and saints above.

III.

How pleasant, too, along thy stream to sail,
And catch the fragrance of the morning gale;
Watch the bright orb of day in glory rise,
Taking his course aloft through cloudless skies;
Or passing by each village, with its mosque,
Half hid in trees, or by some gay kiosque,
Observe thy native children, blithe and rude,
Bathe their young shining limbs in thy smooth flood;
Or mark the jar well-poised on maiden's head,
As up the bank she hurries,—round her spread
A dark blue veil, which ever and anon
She lifts aside, as to be gazed upon;
Or listen to the hum of water-wheels
By uncouth oxen turn'd, a rustic sound;
And the loud crack of 'labouring whip, that tells
The peasant's watchful heed, where, planted round,
The sunt, the tamarisk their shade extend,
And to the sun-scorch'd hind a grateful refuge lend.

IV.

Nor do thy banks, O Nile! such scenes pollute
As shame, in Ind', the sacred Gunga's stream—
Scenes terrible to view, unhallow'd fruit
Of superstitious fancy :—oft the gleam
Of glaring sun from forth grey mist doth stream
On bloated corpse, that now doth lightly swell

Its breast above the waters, now makes seen
The remnants of dark features, limbs that tell
A sad and sickening story—sight obscene!
While close behind there often riseth by
Some monstrous fish with red voracious eye,
That watches keen his fast consuming prey,
Half putrid, floating down. Nor yet despise
Those who commit such horrors in thine eyes,
But with compassion view their acts; — the cause
A virtuous feeling—when an old man draws
Nigh to his end, from age or dire disease,
Unto the Gunga's banks, his mind to ease,
Prompted by filial love his children hie,
And stuff his mouth with clay, and leave him there to die.

V.

Then doth the holy stream him take away,
And to the pale survivors 'tis a day
Of high rejoicing — Poor deluded men!
Soon shall arrive the hour when ye shall scan
Such loathsome follies with an eye of shame:
Not then the Santon's, but the murderer's name,
Shall stamp the wretch who dare such deed proclaim;
No longer then on Saugur's blood-stain'd shore,
Where 'mid her sunderbunds fierce tigers roar,
By false enthusiasm led away,
Shall frantic mothers to swift rushing tide
Consign their infant babes, and view with pride
The alligator seize his helpless prey,
Plunge 'mid the waves with his unhallow'd food,
And stain the reeking waters with their blood.

VI.

Yet when thy floods, O Nile! pour o'er the land,
Tremendous is the desolation there;
The villagers despairing on the strand

Weep o'er thy ravages; the fields all bare
And drown'd, that smiled, erewhile, both green and gay,
With gourds and melons deck'd, now swept away,
Their cottages in ruins carried down
By thy unsparing waters, trees o'erthrown,
And bleating cattle, which in vain implore
Man's saving hand, while he with fruitless moan
And futile toil, to save his winter's store,
Labours to build a little dyke with reeds,
And for a moment hopes — the Nile recedes,
But comes one sweeping wave, and every hope is gone!

VII.

Then is the country round one wide expanse,
O'er which 'tis painful for the eye to glance,
Of rushing waters, from the Libyan hills,
For lordly Pyramids of old renown'd,
To where his waving line Mokattam swells,
With rocks and high embattled turrets crown'd;
And villages, as islands, rise between,
And date-trees bending with their golden fruit
Half scatter'd to the waters, which the poor
Amphibious natives gather to recruit
Exhausted nature's sufferings:—'tis a scene
To wake strange feelings — men, thus insecure,
Resign'd to fate as in their happier days,
And blessing still their God with thankfulness and praise.

VIII.

And when old Ocean sends his tempests forth,
In all their fickle fury from the north,
The air is blacken'd, and the lurid sky
Threatens as were some heavy judgment nigh.
It comes, it comes! the lofty palm-trees bend,
And sycamores, the growth of ages, rend
Up with their roots the bank — affrighted Nile

Shakes his hoar tresses, that all smooth erewhile
Flow'd graceful down,—while on with dastard throng,
Their vast sails shiver'd, reeling, plunge along
The unruly barks:—the storm still fiercer raves;
And yon calm'd spot amid the blustering waves
Sleeps o'er an hapless boat gone headlong down,
Unto destruction gone,—the mast alone,
Heart-rending sight! still quivers to the shock,
And long shall stand, like to a threatening rock,
To warn the stranger;—the dun buffalo
Turns to the storm his back, and waits the throe
Of labouring nature;—swift on wings of dread
The screaming vulture flies, and dim the sun
Sets as in stagnant blood;—the natives run
With garments huddled close around their head
Unto the nighest shelter:—night's at hand,
And universal terror shrouds the strand.

IX.

Nor think ye yet the city's precincts free
From dread and peril on such stormy night;
Drives through the streets a sandy hurricane,
And man and beast unto close covert flee;
Then should a spark of fire by chance alight
On some broad terrace strew'd with fragile cane,
The scene presents to view a frightful sight:
Thick volumed flame to every blast of wind
Bursts forth in snatches, like a giant's arm
Eager to grasp its prey; roof after roof
Within its gripe it seizes, stand aloof
Base Copt and Arab, wider spreads th' alarm,
Flashes the fire out-raging—'tis a fiend
Whose form each moment more terrific grows,
With hair upstreaming, hell's own lustre glows,
Death in his front and horror in his eye,

That laughs in scorn at every pealing crash
Of dome or minar — Hark! the piercing cry
Of human anguish mingles with the clash;
Then all is silent! strange unearthly pause
That ev'n the ruffians round for one short moment awes.

X.

Yes, all is silent! — vain too hope of aid,
For where that cry burst forth is now one raid
Of red and reckless flame — "Work, work away,
"Ye sturdy vassals with stout iron staves,
"Worthy of better masters, now display
"Your hardy courage;" every nerve they strain,
Mocking at danger — should such men be slaves?
"The reeling column yields, down with yon wall,
"Your lives as ours are staked upon its fall."
'Tis done, 'tis done! and the soul breathes again,
And hope relumes once more each anxious eye
Of the by-standers, and the stormy sky
Is hush'd, as morning breaks, in sweet tranquillity.

XI.

But who shall paint that strange, that aching void,
Exhausted nature feels when all is tried:
In vain, on night like this, to gain repose?
Amid distemper'd dreams the eyelids close,
But no refreshment follows, — thoughts confused
Of crackling flames, shrill shrieks, and houses falling,
Of Turks in fury raging, Arabs bawling,
Of flickering fire throughout the air diffused,
Form in the mind an heterogeneous mass
Of vague existence; — strange! but let there pass
One tranquil hour of pure and placid sleep,
The mind to consciousness awakes to weep
O'er its frail powers: — sad lesson this to pride!
Powers, at their best, to madness near allied.

XII.

But short the time, O Nile! thy tempests last;
With Spring's first dawn thy inundation 's past:
And now serenely on thy waters glide,
Lifting along a thousand barks that ride
O'er thy waves proudly, — others 'gainst the stream,
As greets the morn the sun's aspiring beam,
Their high-peak'd sails to gentle breeze unfurl,
While 'neath their prow the eddying waters curl;
And painted canjas, plied by dusky throng,
Straining hoarse throat to inharmonious song,
With silken banner waving, streamers gay,
Across thy current cleave their rapid way.
And here and there is seen a clumsy bark,
Crowded with man and beast—a Noah's ark,
Forcing from side to side its lingering track,
To where attending groups in patience stand,
Or with their burthens crouching line the strand.
It is a pleasant sight — a living scene,
None will forget that ever once hath seen,
That doth refresh the mind on looking back.

XIII.

And what upon the banks is all this crowd,
Which bustling fills the air with clamour loud?
'Tis a rude throng, upon some festal day,
That trades and barters its small wares away;
Grey-bearded elders quarrelling for a para,
And youngsters, new to life, that do not care a
Fig for the world, their turbans set awry,
And the hot booza sparkling in their eye;
Frowzy faquirs begging from all they meet;
Young Almas lewd, dancing with naked feet
To the strain'd tarabok's harsh sound, and boys,
With cheeks distended like the piping faun,

That blow the shrill zumarra,— hideous noise!
As cry of swine for food at break of dawn;
And children riding in the turn-about,
Brim-full of folly:—'tis a rabble rout
Of vulgar dissipation, like the crew
That haunts thy motley fair, renown'd Bartholomew!

XIV.

And such, no doubt, of old the feasts impure
To Mendes sacred, where licentious bands
Of youths and maidens, trick'd out to allure,
Carried about his image in their hands
In solemn pomp; or that where the happy crowd,
In strains exulting, utter'd praises loud
To their loved Isis, to Bubastis dread,
While shook the sounding sistrum o'er their head
The frantic priestess:— life is still the same,
And though we dignify with other name
Our follies, passions, yet, in spite of all,
We are but creatures frail that needs must fall,
Without thy saving hand, who gavest us breath,
The God of Israel's host, the Lord of life and death!

XV.

Was it not here thy power stood manifest,
When Pharaoh dared oppose thy high behest?
When rose the Magi up in proud array
Before the royal throne, and mock'd thy sway?
Then did thy servant Moses take his rod,
And do such wonders as abased their pride,
Set forth the majesty of the living God,
And struck their hearts with terror — far and wide
Through Egypt's realm the fearful tidings spread,
And Nepth's and Ammun's idols bow'd their head,
And thy vast temples, Memphis, Tsan and No,
To their deep basements rock'd with dread, and lo!

The King himself, "immortal, friend of Pthah,
"Son of the sun, on earth a deity,
"Whose rule is bounded only by the sky,"
Let fall his sceptre and stood mute with awe,
While Moses stretch'd his arm towards Nile's broad flood,
And changed its running waters into blood.

XVI.

Turn we to yonder rocky desert now,
Where to the admiring gaze majestic rise
Those monuments to which all others bow
In conscious littleness, unto the skies
Lifting their heads in glory, vast, sublime,
That have, alone, for untold ages past
Proudly defied the ravages of time,
And o'er so many generations cast
Their mystic shadows—emblems of the sun,
The boy-god Horus on his lion-throne.
Mysterious temples! tombs of sovereigns dread,
Gone to the dust, whose very memory's dead!
Fabrics immortal! if to work of man
Such boast be lawful. Come, and let us scan
Their form, position, structure: now descending
Through lonely passages with dubious light,
And now our steps in strange emotion bending
To lofty galleries, whose fearful height
Mocks the dim taper's radiance, 'till we come
Unto a desolate chamber, and a tomb
Of polish'd granite fashion'd—vain display!
For ev'n the very bones are swept away;
Nor through the gloom obscure is aught descried,
Save here and there a solitary bat,
Sole tenant of this mansion of high state,
That flaps his dusky wings in scorn of human pride.

XVII.

Or let us mount the venerable pile,
And track the course meandering of the Nile
By Memphis' groves;—does not the heart expand
At sight of this famed spot, where priests of old,
Skill'd the wise laws of nature to unfold,
By kings revered, ruled o'er the happy land,
Now mark'd by dusky mounds?—then see elate
Misr, the "Queen of Cities," crown'd with towers
Up to the clouds aspiring 'mid her bowers,
And domes and minars throned in lofty state;
Or trace the point where Rhoda's shaded isle,
Famed for its Mikias, divides the Nile;
Then catch its lessening stream that glittering flows
By Shubra's splendid kiosks, till the aching sight,
Scarcely its course discerning, lost in light,
To the green plain returns to seek repose,—
A plain of waving corn extending wide,
Whose sight alone might wake a monarch's pride.

XVIII.

And there are mouldering tombs about this pile
To make the mind in serious hour reflect,
Whose tenants, long released from toil and dread,
Now form a part of th' earth on which we tread.
Some died in war, perchance, and some of bile;
Some kill'd by too much care, some by neglect;
And friends attach'd have sculptured on the wall
Their pious acts, their history, and all
That might in life delight. In this we trace
The favour'd hero of a kingly race,
Rich in domestic comforts, beeves, and kine:
To please his fancy, Nature, Art combine,
And place their various treasures at his feet;
Wild fowl, and fish of Nile, the ostrich fleet,

The wild hyæna, and the spotted pard,
The crane, the capricorn, the wild gazelle,
Borne by attending slaves, in triumph, tell
His rank and consequence; while, near, a bard
Sings to the harp his deeds; light tables there,
Spread out with luscious fruits and viands rare,
Invite his appetite, and many a guest,
Inhaling odorous flowers, partakes the feast.

XIX.

Thus, after all, but poor is earthly fame,
Whether or not connected with a name:
Bustling of ants, the busy hum of bees,
Each in its way, no doubt, has charms for these;
The beaver builds an house no waters spoil,
Yet trifling, to our thought, his mimic toil;
Sublime to eyes below the eagle's flight,
Borne on the winds of heaven from human sight—
Yet 'tis a pitiful exploit to soar
Above the earth a league or two,—no more.
So, to the ken of angels, man's short strife,
His hopes, his struggles, glory, honour, life,
Must as thin shadows pass, as bubbles gleam,
That rise, and puff, and burst on Nile's wide turbid stream.

XX.

All sublunary joys at best are vain;
Men are but galley-slaves, with each his chain:
Of iron fashion'd some must sorely gall,
Of lighter metal this, and that of silk,
Others so gilded o'er you well might call
Them gold at first sight, but we cannot bilk
Fate's stern resolve; for howsoe'er it be,
'Tis still a chain, and irksome to the free:
Man's heart is covetous of the life to come,
And pants his soul to reach its native home.

CANTO II.

I.

Come, haste we now, ere raging winter's frown
Forbids the voyage, haste we, floating down
Unto the sea-girt coast;—the Nile is past—
Adieu! ye date-groves and ye verdant plains,
Whose cheering aspect memory still retains;
For we must bid ye now a long farewell,
Between two ridges high and dull to sail,
That skirt the broad canal, until at last
We reach all tired, perchance, by pale moon-light,
A range of rugged mounds that marks the site
Of Alexandria, name for aye renown'd!
Where high embattled walls with castles crown'd,
In vain display, at an exceeding cost,
Dazzle the sight, but ill defend the coast.

II.

And this the city Alexander's pride
Destined to rule the world! as o'er the waste
On landing here his searching eye he cast,
And eager thus exclaim'd, "My commerce wide
"O'er India stretches, Persia dreads my sway,
"And Africa's dark sons in fear obey,
"This, then, our seat of empire."—Erring man!
But little in the future couldst thou scan;
Not all thy talents by the gods inspired,
Not all the ardour that thy bosom fired,
Could reach thine aim; though brilliant, short thy life;
Thy death left half the world in dubious strife:
Nor could thy comprehensive mind foresee,
How dim the lustre of that dynasty

Thine Egypt sway'd, despots of haughty state,
But fit alone thy faults to imitate,
Depraved by vices thitherto unknown,
With sisters, brothers shared the incestuous throne,
Till God in anger swept the race away,
And to the Roman eagle gave the land a prey.

III.

Yet noble was the enterprise to join
Divided continents, and thus combine,
On what was erst a barren spot and drear,
The wealth and produce of each hemisphere;
To sandy rocks uncouth and naked strand
Succeeded palaces and cultured land
O'erflow'd with Nile's soft waters, the blue sea
On either side pour'd forth its treasury
Of countless vessels,— 'twas a glorious sight,
To view their glittering sails, by morning light,
Sweep o'er the smooth and wide-extended bed
Of Mareotis' lake, whose banks were spread
With the rich harvest of the luscious vine,
Osiris' first, best gift; while through the line
Of column'd porticoes, and arcades proud,
'Rose the deep murmur of the awakening crowd —

IV.

A crowd unruly, full of discontent,
Inclined to strife, dissentious, turbulent;
Who oft, by some mad demagogue set on,
Would tear the prefect from his ivory throne,
As happen'd once, their punishment severe,
When Diocletian vow'd, in furious mood,
Promiscuous slaughter till his horse in blood
Of rebel foe were drench'd;— then havoc raged
Wide o'er the field, nor was his wrath assuaged

Till fell a chief whose blood aspiring stain'd
The royal vest, when quick his voice refrain'd
The angry troops from fight, that hillock near,
Where yon tall pillar rears its head in pride,
Memorial of his mercy,—now the guide
Of watching seaman, as by Pharos' fort
His wind-toss'd bark comes rolling into port.

v.

There met the Indian with close silken vest,
The pale-faced Jew, the Greek with haughty crest,
The wise Phenician, and the sons of Tyre
Rich in the wealth of Tarshish and Ophyr,
The long-robed Persian, humbled then his gait,
The learn'd Chaldean sage with head elate,
The happy natives from blest Meroë,
And Scythians hardy from the Northern sea,
Arabs from Hadramaut and Yoktan's shore
With myrrh and frankincense and spices rare,—
And Afric's children wild, with welcome store
Of shining gold, their emboss'd shield and spear,
With poison'd barb, reluctantly laid by,
Rude innate courage sparkling in their eye,—
The uncouth Blemmyes, with look askant,
Dragging along the bulky elephant,
Or monstrous serpent that still hissing raves,
Or leading gently the giraffa on
With head erect before the royal throne,
Where sat the king 'mid priests and trembling slaves,
Who wait his pleasure to admire or frown.

vi.

Of that vast palace, where the throne was set,
And crowds obeisant bow'd before their king,
Where 'mid its cluster'd aisles collected met
The thousand luxuries which from commerce spring,

That dazzling shone to bless the monarch's reign,
No relics save two obelisks remain,
Of granite form'd, with such perfection wrought
That chiefs and mighty conquerors have sought,
Their clamorous people's fickle taste to please,
Them to remove as trophies o'er the seas.
A Cæsar destined one, so Pliny writes,
To deck the noblest city boasts our earth;
And Julian in epistle fair invites
Its transport to the town that gave him birth;
Vain their design, for when the vessels saw
Its weight tremendous, they shrank back with awe.
Undaunted still, Britannia's daring host
Had borne it off in triumph to their coast,
But for the strange perverseness of one man,
Who thwarted, ruler of the hour, their plan:
So still neglected in the dust it lies,
For future heroes no inglorious prize.

VII.

Not far from these, three graceful columns stand,
Their basements buried in the cumbering sand,
Of sweet proportions and of granite rare,
Smooth to the touch as breast of woman fair,
In beauty's light resplendent,—these some Muse
Has saved to designate, perchance, the site
Of that museum, where, exposed to light,
Collected lay to teach as to amuse,
On fragile rolls inscribed by honour'd sages,
Tauth's mystic books, the wisdom of past ages.
There too the original, alas! now lost,
Of that famed Septuagint, the proudest boast
Of Philadelphus' reign:—still to mine eyes,
Appalling sight! the volumed flames arise
Fraught with those holy spoils which all deplore
That sacred learning prize, or value ancient lore.

VIII.

The rest one mass of ruins, heap on heap,
Where at calm hour of noon jerboas sleep
In sunny pathway. 'Tis a desolate scene,
Where many a rude abyss obtrudes to light
Arches of ancient brickwork, cisterns vast,
And marble fragments in disorder cast;
And pediments, and columns, too, are seen
Disjointed lying round,—a painful sight
Such wide destruction. Rises too a pile,
By turban'd conquerors built with boastful guile,
Of Saracenic workmanship, where oft
From Minar high the hoarse Muezzin calls,
And Echo answers from the towering walls;
And listless sentinel, from fort aloft,
Sings to the breeze in dull monotonous tone,
The red flag waving o'er him;—yet alone
Does man not wander here,—at dusky hour
Of the dim twilight oftentimes doth range
The wily fox along, and vultures cower
O'er some torn carcase. 'Tis a wondrous change
From the gay bustle of the port so near,
That, pondering, almost strikes the soul with fear.

IX.

Still, pensive loitering, much I love to stray,
Famed city, 'mong thy ruins, whilst the day
Closes around me, there to meditate
On lofty names allied to thy high state.
Died Cleopatra here, who loved so well,
Octavius, conquer'd, and his rival fell;
Here Alexander, Cæsar, Antony,
Heroes of lofty stamp, whose voice, whose eye,
Of that ethereal energy partook
That awes inferior man with scarce a look,

Display'd their genius vast — spoil'd sons of Fame!
Though not unclouded their illustrious name —
Men who on earth rare as the phœnix rise,
To strike the world with awe, to dazzle, and surprise—

X.

Men who despised command, and for a smile
Of wanton woman, in the buoyant hour
Of some high festival, in Love's close bower,
Would cast away, her favour to beguile,
Kingdom and empire, life itself—nay more,
Immortal fame would stake upon a throw,
To sink in Thais' arms, or feel the glow
Of Cleopatra's fond caresses — she
Who held the impassion'd cup of harlotry
To lovers' lips, with so divine a grace,
With such a passing witchcraft in her face,
That seem'd she Pallas to the enamour'd eye,
Or Isis clothed in radiant majesty.

XI.

And other names there are the admiring bard
May well remember, held in high regard
By all who venerate the Christian's claim,
By all who deem that priests may merit fame.
Here Athanasius, by the Spirit led,
Pour'd forth his anathema on the head
Of the proud Arian, — here his fervid soul
Stood like a rock defying hell's control;
In every sense an hero, bold, inspired,
Who scorn'd all danger, and, whose bosom fired
With the great work intrusted to his hands,
March'd on with equal pace, though hostile bands
On every side their wicked warfare wage,
And dared confront a tyrant in his rage;
And when at last by persecution driven,

Outcast on earth, denied the way to heaven,
Thy sheltering waters, Nile! around him rose,
And saved the victim from a host of foes.

XII.

Enough of ancient times; now cast we down
A hasty glance upon the modern town,
On Heptistadium built, a strip of sand
That joins the isle of Pharos to the land,
Where Julius fought on that immortal day
When press'd by fate he plunged into the sea—
A motley town, where Turks, Jews, Arabs meet,
And bent on gain its rising commerce greet;
Where strangers crowd of every sect and race,
That make a second Babel of the place;
Where virtue blooms almost as verdure rare,
And vice spreads like miasma through the air,
Winning its subtle way — the Arab's guile,
The crafty Levantine's base servile smile,
The Turk's presumptuous cruelty, the bile
Of wrangling Jew that woos the shady wall,
The city's fame of old may well recall;
Man looks on man but as a welcome prey,
And thoughtless of their end speeds on the unblushing day.

XIII.

Yet warning want they not; full oft gaunt Death
Hovers around with pestilential breath,
And strikes his helpless victims: — nought can save
Him who imbibes the poison, from the grave;
To-day all cheerful, light, and full of mirth,
And but to-morrow buried in the earth;
Soon as attack'd, deserted — not a friend
To watch with soothing eye his fearful end,
Nor pay the last sad offices, but all
His presence shun with horror, whilst his fall

Seems of their own the prelude;—here the bride
Sinks blighted down, but late her husband's pride;
And many an orphan wails a parent's doom,
And many an infant sinks untimely to the tomb.

XIV.

Away from such a place on wings of speed;
Better to commune with the learned dead,
Men who had minds—men too who deem'd us born
For higher ends, whose breasts with angry scorn
Look'd down on groveling vice, who, though untaught
To hope the Christian's meed, still eager sought
By acts heroic to attain a name,
Whose bosoms, panting for their country's fame,
Despised the merit which mere wealth could give,
Happy in conscious rectitude to live,
To virtue bow'd, contemn'd inglorious pride,
And, when occasion call'd, as nobly died.

XV.

Fair Nature, too, her ample field displays
In every clime to those who seek her ways;
'Tis but to choose our path where wisdom guides,
Where God approves, 'tis folly all besides.
A bent to follow innocent pursuits,
Knowledge of men and manners, that uproots
Each idle prejudice,—an humble heart,
Content in temperance to play its part,
A free-born spirit, health and mind at ease,
An aptness to be pleased as to please,
Dear friends to love, and to be loved by friends,
In these our sum of bliss begins and ends.

XVI.

What though at times the anxious mind may dwell
On recollections, in some distant realm,
Of earlier friends, of kindred, and may feel

The heart-strings tighten at the thought of them;
Or see, as I do oft, the spires arise
Of a loved native city, to mine eyes
Unfolding all their beauty 'mid the vale
That holds them in its bosom, where tall trees,
In well-known clusters grouping, to the breeze
Spread their rich foliage; — not for this should fail
The pilgrim in his duty, nor, unwise,
Pine his sad hours away in vain regret,
Thankless, morose, on this one object set,
But rather make account of blessings he enjoys.

XVII.

And though dear ties, perchance, by death be rent—
Ties on the which our inmost soul had bent
Its all of happiness — each comfort, bliss,
Thought, feeling, or desire of life to come,
Nay, ev'n its dreams, when fancy loves to roam,
Day-dreams of hope delusive; — not for this
Should man for aye sink down in wan despair,
Cursing at heart heavens, earth, the sea, and air,
That form such suffering world; but rather strive,
With firm and constant faith, to keep alive
A patient spirit — haply long in vain,
But time at length unlinks the fastest-woven chain.

CANTO III.

I.

And we are launch'd upon the Nile again,
Sailing along with fresh Etesian breeze,
Until we reach the broad and verdant plain
Of ancient Thebes, where still her city sees
Crowds of admirers, 'mid her temples vast,
Lingering abroad, with thoughts bent on the past.
There Luxor's massy columns front the sky,
And catch in sombre majesty the eye,
Where loose-eyed Almas now, O shame! resort,
And sheep and goats fill up the spacious court —
That court which kings, of old, were proud to tread,
By white-stoled priests in awful silence led,
To view deep mysteries depictured there,
On sculptured walls, with more than artist's care,
The life of Memnon, sovereign, hero, god,
Of beasts and wretches now the mean abode.

II.

Yet may some studious eye delight to trace
The wondrous history of his royal race —
Here stands the mother-queen 'mid pious priests,
Attentive listening to their mild behests,
To mould her mind, imbibe religious lore,
And make her worthy of the youth she bore;
There gives she to the light her infant boy,
By crouching Genii hail'd with rapturous joy;
The mystic oval there commits to fame,
Above the god-like child, his princely name,
As Horus typified,—with knees there bent,

From sacred cow he draws his nourishment,
Great Athor's imaged form;—his years increased,
Now mark the youth from matron's care released,
Before the king his father—in his hand
The undying Phœnix points to foreign land,
O'er which his brilliant conquests shall extend
Egypt's firm sway, and higher lustre lend
To those its sovereigns had already won;
Behold the father's rapture o'er his son,
His eye beneficent, his look serene,
Spreads a warm interest o'er the parting scene.

III.

Now turn and Memnon view in regal power,
The gods his throne support, and subjects cower,
In willing homage priests with offerings bend,
And well-earn'd joys of placid health attend
His frugal board;—again, with princely care,
Observe him ministering, in awe and fear,
Before the gods celestial, Athor, Phre,
Mendes, Amun, and that high deity
Osiris hight, who hath in after days
Absorb'd, with Isis, the attributes and praise
Of those more ancient gods by Tauth upheld.
For Man was credulous then, his bosom swell'd
With meek devotion at each priestly tale;
Were Tithyrambo named, his limbs would fail,
At thought of Typhon, terror-struck, he 'd bow:
What then was Typhon deem'd, is Kali now
O'er India's sultry realms, where oft expire
The suffering victims to appease her ire.

IV.

Yet better this than the rank infidel,
Who nor believes in heaven, in God, nor hell,

Who blasts our hopes, who mocks at human fears,
And him admires alone, O fool! who dares
Be boldly impious — his the noxious pride,
All rules of faith, all order to deride;
Who sets aside religion with a nod
Of sneering doubt, yet thinks himself a god—
To Egypt's realm such atheist not unknown,
Where infidelity, too deeply sown,
Riots unblushing; — better, surely, far
The chains of superstition, there no bar
Exists to happiness. Humility,
Thou dearest, first, best gift of infancy!
O may I aye preserve thee, still to bow,
In conscious ignorance, in reverence low,
Before thy shrine, O God! whose power unfurl'd
Can save an atom, or destroy a world.

v.

Nor, Luxor, be thine obelisks forgot,
Half hid their merit on a cumbrous spot,
Yet how they rise in sculptured radiancy,
And bare their pointed summits to the sky,
With high and polish'd gloss, that laughs to scorn
The modern sculptor's art, for time hath borne
Genius of higher stamp than that which lends
Its mimic efforts to such worthless ends
As portraits, vases, copies infinite
Of worn-out statues men still carve, in spite
To that high merit they despair to attain;
Their toil, their efforts, as their envy, vain;
While they of old, the artists, had in view
Grandeur of form, a taste to nature true,
And beauty in perfection, which shall last
Till earth itself hath to destruction past.

VI.

'Mid heaps of mud-built cottages, just by,
A broad propylon lifts its mass on high,
Sculptured with scenes of battle, chariots light
With eager warriors pressing to the fight,
A bow in hand and quiver at their back,
With lynx-eye watching keen the foeman's track;
Ardent in courage, spearmen take their way,
Covering 'neath ample shields their close array,
Up to a towering fortress, whence the foe
Large stones and missile weapons furious throw,
With desperate rage contending; others, bent
On nobler conquest, storm the royal tent,
Where a huge lion crouches; Fear and Dread
Hang o'er the camp—'mid heaps of slaughter'd dead
The giant-hero on pursues his course,
Snort his wild horses, bounding with rapid force,
Such life, such spirit in their air and mien,
That one might think 'twas Mars who held the rein.

VII.

Visit we next Karnak across the plain,
Smiling with richest verdure, ripening grain,
Where rows of andro-sphinxes indicate,
In mutilated grandeur, the high state
Of old Diospolis, whose ruins cast
Ev'n still a vivid radiance o'er the past.
Columns and temples, porticoes sublime,
O'erpower the astonish'd senses with their vast
And solid masses unsubdued by time.
One fine propylon 'bove the rest doth rear
Its splendid front aloft, superior far
To aught that Rome, or Greece, or earth can claim
Of ancient portal. Fain mine eye would trace
The storied triumph there of Pharaoh's race,

Memnon, Vocchoris, Amasis, or name
Above them all, Sesostris, who led on
His conquering troops to Scythia's northern zone;
But that its sculpture plainly marks the hand
Of stranger-king, who since hath ruled the land.

VIII.

Here too, Karnak, thy glorious temple rears
Its pile, the wonder of past circling years.
Tread lightly, traveller, tread, nor dare disturb
The awful silence of this solemn scene:
If thou have passions, learn them here to curb,
And banish from thy mind all earthly spleen.
How truly grand this lofty colonnade
That greets majestic the admiring eye,
Each pillar casting back its sombre shade,
While all beyond lies open to a sky
Still, blue, serene, and placid as when first,
In pure perfection, it from chaos burst!
What endless mines are here of mystic lore,
Above, around, on every nook and face
Of the broad columns which mine eyes explore!
And mark! on yon tall capital, just by,
That hangs as falling from its pillar'd base,
Sits a white aged hawk, with half-closed eye,
That seems to mourn his long extinguish'd race.

IX.

Where now the crowds that lifted up their hands
Before his golden shrine so much revered?
Where now the honours of his mitred head?
Where the bald-headed priests and youthful bands,
With peals of music, standards high uprear'd,
The long procession through these aisles that led?—
Are they not number'd with the silent dead?
Gone to that rest to which we all must go,

Who have to tread this varying scene of woe?
Soon fly our infant years, our youth a gleam,
And manhood lingers but a little space,
And age the ending of a sickly dream:
Passeth thus quick away race after race;
And ev'n this noble edifice at last
Must crumble into dust ere all be past.

X.

Hail to thee, lonely valley of the dead!
Compass'd with rugged mountains, where the tread
Of man is rarely heard, save his who roams
From foreign lands to visit thy lone tombs—
Tombs of long perish'd kings, who thus remote
Their sepulchres have set in barren spot,
Where not a blade of verdure ever grew:
To me thou hast a charm for aye that's new,
For I have cast, for days, weeks, months, my lot
Among thy rocks secluded — oft at night
Hath the still valley met my awe-struck sight,
Lighted by silver moon that seem'd to cast
A lingering look upon thy "antres vast,"
While many a blast blew, not unmix'd with dread,
That bore, methought, a chiding from the dead.

XI.

And I have waked at morn, or e'er the sun
Had shook his tresses o'er the mountain's height,
While, from behind its mass obscure and dun,
Upwards in streaming rays shot forth the light;
And mark'd with thrilling joy the god uprear
His splendid countenance, all bright and clear,
Above its lofty summit; and have stood
Braving his noontide force, when in a flood
Of furious heat he raged o'er hill and plain;
At eve, enamour'd of his beams, again

Return'd to watch his golden car decline
In purple glory, casting round a glow
On mountain, valley, rock, and cliff below,
That made them like to gems and rubies shine;
Then, lost in admiration, there have stay'd,
Till, like a pageant, all had vanish'd into shade.

XII.

To-day is born a plant, to-morrow dies,
And holds no lasting value in our eyes,
But springs up last year's favourite, and each hour
Adds renovated beauty to its flower.
Yon sycamore, with grey trunk spreading wide,
Hath for long ages past withstood the tide
Of wind and weather, and its full broad shade
Becomes a part of the still, smiling glade;
The father's father there a refuge found,
And his son's son may shelter on the ground,
By its close leaves o'ershadow'd:—thus the Sun
Is as a parent, that, each circling year,
Takes stronger fastening and becomes more dear,
Is as a part of us, — his welcome ray
Hath lighted up, from earliest time, the day;
And friends remote, and ancestors long gone,
Have felt his beams benign, and blest the Sun.

XIII.

Can I then wonder that, in the olden day,
When Fiction o'er the senses held her sway,
Frail man to thy bright orb should bend his knee,
Thou first-created, grandest mystery!
The world gets wiser now, a flaming star
Hath from the West its radiance shot afar
O'er India's realms, shall dissipate the cloud
Of darkness that enwraps her servile crowd;
Soon shall its influence scatter to the wind

The follies, errors, horrors that still blind
Her Brahmin-tutor'd children, as, of yore,
In Egypt's clime; for not, in ancient lore,
A rite, a practice, monster, god, or fiend,
But finds its votaries still in credulous land of Ind.

XIV.

And, of such mystic fancies, in the range
Of these deep-cavern'd sepulchres are found
The wildest images, unheard of, strange,
Striking, uncouth, odd, picturesque, profound,
That ever puzzled antiquarian's brain;
Prisoners, of different nations, bound and slain,
Genii with heads of birds, hawks, ibis, drakes,
Of lions, foxes, cats, fish, frogs, and snakes,
Bulls, rams, and monkeys, hippopotami
With knife in paw suspended from the sky;
Gods germinating men, and men turn'd gods,
Seated in honour, with gilt crooks and rods;
Vast scarabæi, globes by hands upheld
From Chaos springing, 'mid an endless field
Of forms grotesque — the sphinx, the crocodile,
And other reptiles from the slime of Nile,
Might furnish out amusement for a year
To one whose nerves could dare withstand the sneer
Of carping critic, prompt with eager haste
To sweep the wretch away for such ignoble taste.

XV.

Hath not a learned Sage, who lays down rules
From northern Athens, said, we all are fools
Who study ancient lore, or seek to know
How men went on a thousand years ago?
That, to speak candidly, for his own part,
He does not care a fig (cold, cold his heart!)
For what the ancients were, when Abraham took

His journey into Egypt—that to look
For illustration of the Holy writ
'Mong modern Arabs, shows strange want of wit?
Such axioms wise, pour'd forth by such a wight,
Must, I should think in charity, be right;
But then it follows that, for Sage like this,
A Van-Diemen's-Land were perfect bliss.

XVI.

I am not of such stuff; I love to trace
From earliest history the human race,
Dear to my heart the patriarchal life,
Heaven-favour'd Abraham, his good churlish wife,
And all those usages, to nature true,
Which Arabs still on Jordan's banks pursue—
The sweet simplicity of Joseph's tale,
His brethren's jealousy, his cruel sale
Into a land of bondage, his high rise,
The favour that he found in Pharaoh's eyes,
His early wisdom, and his tenderness
On haply learning Jacob's deep distress—
Is tale so genial to the land of Nile
That it may well a leisure hour beguile;
And hours like these, in spite of critic's wrath,
Are not the worst, by far, we pass on earth.

XVII.

I hate statistics, hate the very name;
Let them their honours due in cities claim;
There, let bold schemers, with improved machines,
Make men rest single to increase their means,
And, calculating, crush each opening germ
Of native feeling—all things have their term.
I love not cows in stables, calves that ne'er
Are doom'd to see the sun from year to year,
Thanks to promoters of the Glasgow school,

Who will that beasts, like men, should live by rule.—
Green fields, and grazing cattle that adorn
The glowing landscape, mountains, woods, and caves,
And trickling waters, in some nook forlorn,
Where rarely foot of man intrusive laves,
And sunny rocks, and rivers gliding by,
And old grey temples, full of mystery,
In every dale and glen, that charm the eye,
As in thy valley, Thebes! 'mid these my soul
Enjoys sensations 'bove the world's control,
Dwells on the past, unlocks great Nature's store,
And feels the rankling ills of life no more.

XVIII.

And thus full many a line might I prolong,
Dwelling on themes like these; my wayward song
Might lead the traveller on, with weary step,
Up the steep mountain's side, a toilsome trip,
And there, stretch'd out beneath his vision, show
A scene might make the coldest bosom glow:
Os'mandyan columns, and colossi vast,
That o'er the plain their long clear shadows cast;
And those high walls, devoted to the Sun,
By great Sesostris ages back begun:
Whose glorious form, in battle fierce display'd,
Firm, like Apollo, stands in might array'd;
And thy small temple, Isis, and the glade,
Sacred to thee, where many a tomb is laid
Open to vulgar eye by spoilers' hands;
And Goornou's outcast village, where their bands,
'Mid hollow caves and dead-men's bones, repose.
But night is near, and hastens to its close
This desultory strain—is burst the spell,
And nothing left me but to say, Farewell!

XIX.

In truth, it is a bitter thing to part
From friends we love—it leaves upon the heart
A sad and sickening void to say, Farewell.
With fond emotion see the bosom swell
Of those we quit, the agitated mien,
The troubled eye, that speaks the mind's deep pain,
To press the hand that we no more may press,
Then turn away, in utter wretchedness,
In almost detestation of a life
So full of inward struggling, abject strife—
These are the pangs that aggravate our doom,
And reconcile us to the oblivious tomb.

XX.

And so, loved valley, do I part from thee,
For I have pass'd full many a pleasant hour
Amidst thy tombs and temples, which have power
To raise up in the mind bright imagery
Of times remote, of nations now no more,
Whose memory lives but in the ancient lore;
Thy every tree, and rock, and monument,
Or mountain gilded with the ruddy glow
Of parting sun, at eve, in softness blent
With the Nile's azure, and the plain's warm green,
Thrills to my soul, with thoughts of what has been—
A voice that calls me to the shades below—

XXI.

The voice of one, on earth a more than friend,
A guardian spirit now, who oft doth lend
Her gentle influence to compose my mind,
When cares corrode and angry passions blind:
Nor long the time ere we shall meet again,
Oh, never more, beloved! I trust, to part,

Past every shade of sorrow, every pain,
That with thine image lingers round my heart,
Still weeping for thy loss, still desolate,
Nor half resign'd to this last blow of fate:
Then come, dear angel, at the hour of death,
Close up mine eyes, and take my parting breath,
Waft me, on wings of hope, with thee to heaven,
And, with our children blest, be all forgiven!

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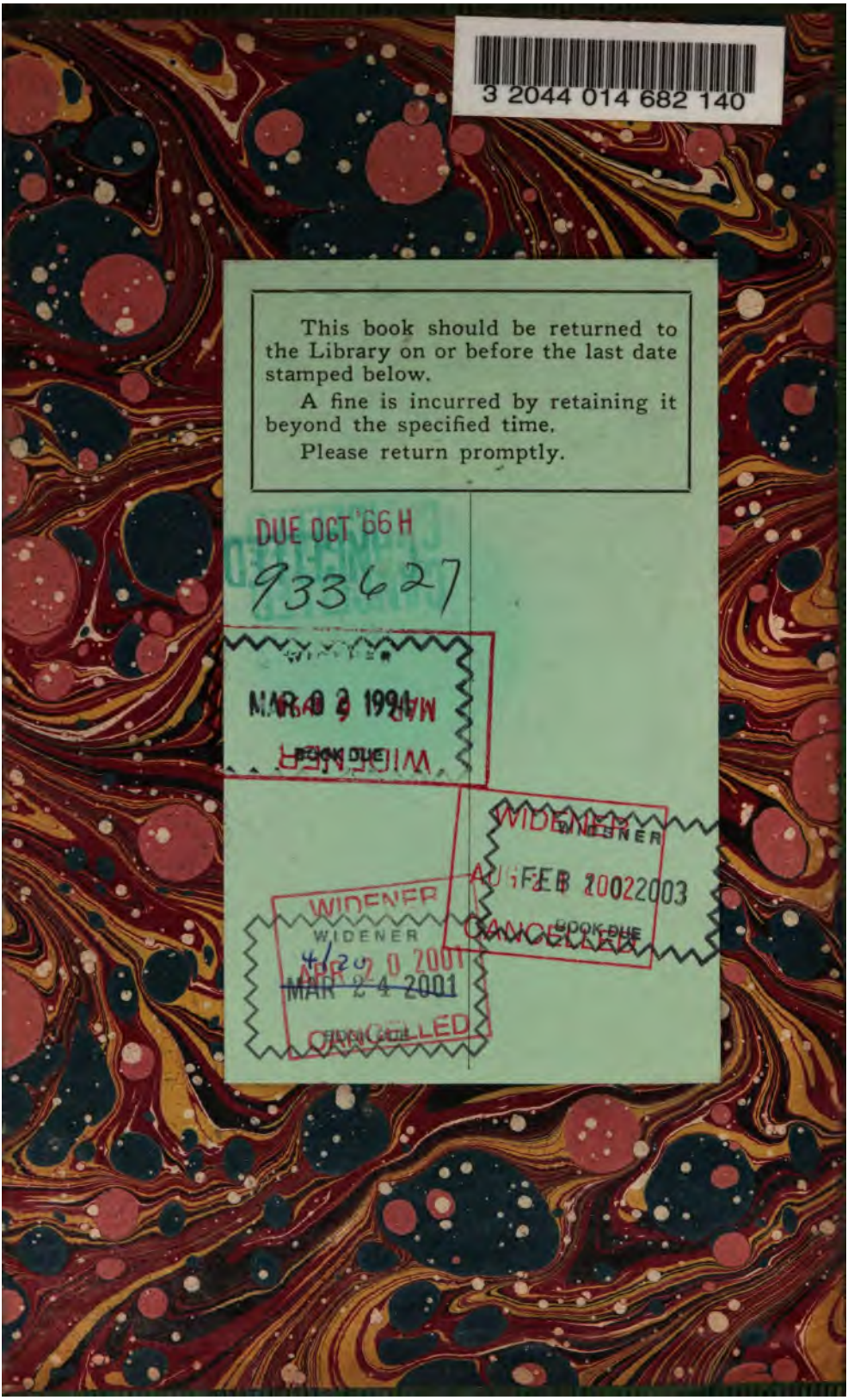
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